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ABSTRACT

Results of a 1975 survey on racial attitudes of blacks and whites in Chicago are tabulated and analyzed in the four reports compiled in this book. In "Structure and Context of White Racial Attitudes," George Surgeon examines the racial beliefs of whites in terms of such factors as age, education, neighborhood, and sex of survey respondents. The belief in black intellectual equality is shown to have declined since 1963. In "Images of the Poor: Attitudes Towards Race and Welfare," by Judith Mayo, it is found that: (1) blacks are more pro-welfare than whites; (2) stereotyped attitudes about the work behavior of blacks leads to negative attitudes towards welfare programs; and (3) beliefs about welfare role composition were not linked to opposition to the Aid to Families with Dependent Children programs. In "Black Opinion about Race Relations in Chicago," beliefs about the employment status and educational status of blacks are tabulated by Donald J. Bogue. Comparisons are made between black and white responses, and the question of black nationalism is discussed. In "Opinions of Blacks and Whites About Race Relations in Chicago's Schools," also by Bogue, beliefs about the effect of student and faculty integration on the quality of education, as well as the effects of busing and racial content in the curriculum, are surveyed. Public opinion about black potential is measured and the educational problems of Chicago's schools are described. Numerous tables support the findings of the four reports. (WI)

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RACE RELATIONS IN CHICAGO

Second Survey: 1975

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PREFACE

This little volume on race relations in Chicago is submitted to the citizens and leaders of the metropolis (and to others who are interested in the subject) as a public service contribution of the Community and Family Study Center. As research social scientists we find it difficult to remain unconcerned about the persistence of inequality based upon race and ethnicity. We believe the most useful function we can perform is to produce valid and sensitive research on the subject. By keeping the public informed we believe researchers can help neutralize the distortions that are generated, within both the black and the white communities, by those who apparently seek to gain personal advantage by sensationalism and exaggeration.

The trend of race relations in Chicago, as apparently in the rest of the nation, has altered its course within the past few years. The alteration in the black community has differed from that in the white community. As a consequence, many writers and analysts have sensed a loss of mutual comprehension and of contact. This report is an effort by the graduate students and the staff of the CFSC to contribute to a reestablishment of understanding. It is one item of research in the program, "The Human Side of Poverty," funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. It is a follow-up of a study conducted in 1968 by the Interuniversity Social Research Committee.

Because this study was not a principal focus of the main research program, it was possible to devote only limited funds toward it. As a result, the size of the sample on which the findings are based is small. However, the interview was thoughtfully constructed on the basis of much discussion and a reading of the works of others. The sampling was carefully done. The data was collected conscientiously by well-trained interviewers. Our interpretations have been kept within the limits of sampling error. We hope the reader will trust the results. Nevertheless, we would be among the first to support a recommendation for a larger, more comprehensive study involving not only Chicago but the entire nation. The importance of the subject merits it.

Acknowledgements are due to a large number of persons. Helen Wojniusz participated in the drafting and pretesting of the questionnaire. Prof. William Wilson of the University of Chicago generously assisted us in the preparation of the questionnaire and in criticising early drafts of this monograph. The senior author would also like to express his indebtedness to James P. Lynch, Peter V. Marsden and Margaret Troha for their insightful comments on earlier drafts of his chapter as well as to Jane Witten for her secretarial assistance and encouragement. The field interviewing loads of our professional interviewing staff were lightened by the participation of Charles Cappell, James Crimmins, Bob Enright, Al Harden, Ron Mulder, Amy Ong, Jeff Slovak and Jay Teachman, all graduate students and research assistants at the CFSC, who helped with the listing and interviewing. Tom Bonczar, John Nitiss and Maggie Gibson performed the laborious tasks of coding, checking, keypunching, computer processing and posting.

The task of editing and preparing the manuscript for publication was carried out by the manuscript unit–Robert Gamage, James McKearn, Patricia Morse, Jeanne Pickering, and Judith Van Wyk–under the editorship and supervision of Russell Hahn.

August, 1976

George Surgeon
Judith Mayo
Donald J. Bogue

Chapter One

STRUCTURE AND CONTEXT OF WHITE RACIAL ATTITUDES

George Surgeon

Introduction

The question of black-white differentials in inherited intellectual ability has been an issue of great concern among scientists, policy-makers and educators as well as among the general public. Before World War I almost everyone including the majority of natural and social scientists took it for granted that blacks were innately inferior to whites in intellect. Even some who envisioned integration and miscegenation as the final solution to racial problems, expressed some doubt about the mental equality of blacks. During World War I this assumption was investigated using a series of IQ tests administered to black and white soldiers across the country. Then, as now, the mean black score was lower than the mean white score, but closer investigation of the data during the 1920's revealed some interesting twists. For example, it was found that black soldiers from Northern urban areas outscored not only Southern rural blacks but a great many Southern and Northern whites as well. These twists prompted innumerable studies of the intellectual capacity of blacks and other minority groups during the 1920's and 1930's. By World War II, the vast majority of scholarly opinions on the subject had shifted 180 degrees. (Cartwright and Burtis 1969; Hayes 1973) Today, there are only a small but vocal number of natural and social scientists who espouse the belief that blacks are inferior to whites in inherited mental ability. (Eckland 1975) This is not true, however, of public opinion. In an almost classical example of William F. Ogburn's theory of cultural lag, public opinion has responded quite slowly to changes in scientific opinion. It also appears more susceptible to reversals. Unlike a good many public beliefs and opinions, the acceptance or rejection of black inferiority is of critical importance, for it is the cornerstone of racism and the main

rationalization for racial discrimination. Not too surprisingly, the prevalence of public acceptance of this belief has proven to be a fairly reliable indicator of the public's sentiments about a host of other racial beliefs and attitudes.

The history of public opinion research on this issue is fairly long. In September of 1939, the Roper organization first questioned a national sample about their beliefs on black intelligence. Only 22 percent of this sample thought that blacks had "about the same" intelligence as whites, though another 23 percent considered the inferiority due to lack of educational opportunities and not to genetic factors. (Schwartz 1967) In June of 1942 the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) of the University of Chicago asked a national sample of 2000 whites:

> "In general, do you think Negroes are as intelligent as white people—that is, can they learn things just as well if they are given the same education and training?"

Forty-two percent responded that blacks had the same mental powers as whites. By May of 1946 the figure had climbed to slightly over 50 percent. By April, 1956, it had jumped dramatically upward to just under 80 percent. When the question was repeated in June and December of 1963, the figure appeared to have stablilized at the 1956 level—just under 80 percent. In the North, the percent was slightly higher, in the South, lower. (Hyman and Sheatsley, 1956 and 1964) At this time it appears that the pollsters considered it a "dead" question, one which showed little variance. Since December of 1963 it has not reappeared on any national survey conducted by NORC or any of the other major survey organizations. In 1967 Mildred Schwartz projected on the basis of past surveys that by 1968, 90 percent of white Americans could be expected to believe that blacks have the same intelligence capacity as whites. (Schwartz 1967) Notwithstanding, Thomas Pettigrew repeated the question in two small surveys in Boston, 1965, and Gary, 1968. Only 12 percent of the 347 Bostonians interviewed by Pettigrew rejected the notion of black intellectual equality. This fit quite nicely into Schwartz's projections. However, in Pettigrew's sample of 245 white Gary males who had expressed a preference for one of the 1968 presidential candidates, the percent believing blacks and whites were of equal innate intelligence had dropped to 71 percent. Given the nature of the sample—white males in a "threatened" ethnic city—Pettigrew did not believe this figure to be exceptionally high. When he considered it in light of his other research findings he quite adamantly rejected the notion that it or his other findings indicated a backlash in white racial attitudes. (Pettigrew 1971)

In the winter and spring of 1975, the Community and Family Study Center (CFSC) of the University of Chicago asked a sample of 229 whites from the greater metropolitan area of Chicago:

> "Do black people have the same, greater, somewhat less or much less inherited capacity for intelligence than whites do?"

Only 57 percent of this sample believed that blacks had the same capacity as whites. Another question addressing the notion of black intellectual inferiority was asked in a separate part of the interview:

Agree or Disagree:

"The average black child has less inherited capacity than the average white child to think out the correct answer to difficult problems."

Here 56 percent disagreed, thereby indicating their belief that blacks have the same innate ability as whites. (See Table 1)

Table 1. MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS TO THE TWO CFSC QUESTIONS ON DIFFERENTIALS IN INNATE INTELLIGENCE BETWEEN WHITES AND BLACKS

A. Do black people have the same, greater, somewhat less or much less inherited capacity for intelligence than whites do?	
Blacks and whites have the same capacity	56.8%
Blacks have greater capacity than whites	0.0
Blacks have somewhat less capacity than whites	31.0
Blacks have much less capacity than whites	5.7
Don't know	5.2
No answer	1.3
Number of cases	(229)
B. Now I'm going to list some reasons other people have given to explain the poorer performance of black children in school. For each one, please tell me whether you agree or disagree.	
The average black child has less inherited capacity than the average white child to think out the correct answers to difficult problems.	
Agree	30.6
Disagree	55.9
Don't know	13.5
Number of cases	(229)

Neither of these questions is worded identically to that asked by NORC or Pettigrew. The CFSC sample is taken from the population of a single city, and of course its composition is not strictly comparable with a sample taken from the national population. The number of respondents to the CFSC survey is relatively small. Nonetheless, the pattern of responses to the above two questions is disquieting. It reveals a level of acceptance of a particularly distasteful stereotype which has not been seen in national samples since the 1950's. It forces us to consider that whites in a major American city may be less tolerant towards blacks in the 1970's than was the national population prior to the civil rights movement. The above figures open up a Pandora's box of other questions about the CFSC survey in particular and about the racial views of Chicagoans in general. First, can we believe these 1975 research findings? How good are the data? What were some of the other racial views of white Chicagoans in 1975? How can we characterize the nature and structure of these racial attitudes and beliefs? Do these attitudes vary across the institutional settings in which they are found? What are some of the demographic, socioeconomic and social structural correlates of different racial attitudes? What are some of the recent trends in racial attitudes nationally and how do the racial views of Chicagoans fit into the national picture?

In the following report, we shall attempt to answer these and other questions by analyzing the 1975 CFSC survey of Chicago area households. Specifically, we shall begin by considering the survey itself, how the sample was drawn, and what the sample itself and some "non-racial" questions tell us about the state of race relations in Chicago in 1975. Then we shall investigate the nature, structure, dimensions and settings of racial beliefs and attitudes. We shall conclude with a brief discussion of recent trends in white racial attitudes.

The survey

The sample households for the CFSC survey were chosen randomly by computer from all the households in the Chicago urbanized area. The multistaged sampling procedure began by drawing fifty sample census tracts from the urbanized area.[1] The census tracts were first clustered into three groups by percent black (less than 20 percent; 20 percent to 79.99 percent; 80 percent or more) and then stratified from high to low income. Percent black and income figures were taken from the 1970 census. Two sample blocks were chosen within each tract and five households from each block by aggregating the adult population. The urbanized area of Chicago includes the central city and all of the surrounding suburban areas having a population density above a level specified by the Bureau of the Census. In essence, the urban-

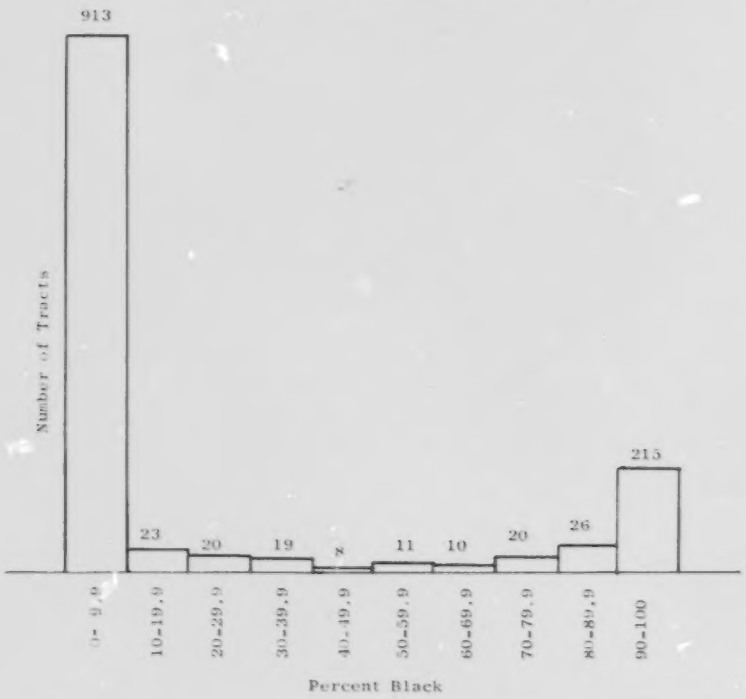
[1]Census tracts which had fewer than 25 households, had fewer than 100 adults, or had primarily institutional populations were excluded.

ized area includes Chicago and all of the suburbs, but not far distant places within the Chicago SMSA such as Joliet and Aurora. We managed to collect 299 interviews from the 500 households in our sample for a 60 percent return overall. Seventy interviews were conducted with black respondents, 229 with whites. Black interviewers interviewed black respondents, and white interviewers, white respondents. The response rate was approximately the same for both the black and white sub-samples–around 60 percent. Exact statistics are not available for the urbanized area, but the demographics of our sample on the whole seem to be in line with what we had expected. The major weakness of our final sample lies in its over-representation of females. However, since past surveys as well as our own show sex differences to be relatively insignificant in regard to racial attitudes, we do not consider the oversampling of women to compromise seriously the quality of our data. (Campbell 1971; Cramer 1969) More difficult to justify is our small case base and our low rate of return. Most surveys of this caliber aim for a response rate of at least 80 percent. Our 60 percent rate does pale in comparison, but as we mentioned above our sample does appear sufficient in all respects except sex.

The composition of the sample itself tells us a great deal about race relations. The most obvious sociological fact reflected by the sample is the high level of residential segregation in the Chicago area. As mentioned earlier, we clustered the census tracts by percent black as our first step towards drawing a sample. Since blacks make up over 20 percent of the total population of the urbanized area, if they were distributed randomly within this area all of our census tracts would probabilistically fall into our second "mixed" cluster of tracts, having between a 20 and 80 percent black population. However, as every Chicagoan knows, blacks are not randomly distributed in the Chicago area. The overwhelming majority of blacks make their homes in the inner city. Some reside in predominantly black suburbs such as Robbins and Phoenix, and a few live in even smaller isolated "mini-ghettoes" in Chicago, Evanston, La Grange, and elsewhere. Thus it comes as no surprise that in drawing our sample, we found that only 7 percent of the 1265 sample census tracts in the urbanized area fell into our "mixed" category. We use the term "mixed" instead of "integrated" due to another fact of Chicago race relations: in Chicago when black families move in, white families move out. The transition can be quite ugly, as it presently is in Marquette Park, but recently racial succession has tended to become more gradual and not as fraught with hostility and tension, as in South Shore. But, in the past at least, ecological succession has been both inevitable and irreversible. The two exceptions, Hyde Park and Lake Meadows/Prairie Shores, were created or preserved by powerful institutions with the help of vast amounts of urban renewal money. Even these communities however, are not immune to accusations of segregation. In these areas whites and blacks segregate themselves by apartment buildings on "integrated" blocks. Indeed, when we sent out interviewers to the four "mixed" tracts in

our sample we found two had become almost all black by 1975, and even one of the "white" tracts had become "black" in the five years since the Census. (See Tables 2A and 2B)

Table 2A. RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLED CENSUS TRACTS IN THE URBANIZED AREA OF CHICAGO ACCORDING TO THE 1970 CENSUS



Our sample also gives us a good indication of the continuing socioeconomic disparity between whites and blacks. Only 14 percent of the blacks in our sample had more than a high school education, while 42 percent of the whites had some education beyond high school. (See Table 3) For those who reported it, the median family income for blacks was over $5600, while for whites it was almost $16,000 a year. This figure overstates the actual amount of income disparity between black and white households in Chicago;[2] nonetheless, it is illustrative of the fact that in the United States black family income has remained at 70 percent of white family income since 1969. (Cameron 1975)

[2]The overstatement can be attributable to sub-sample error among blacks and the large proportions of both blacks and whites who refused to answer this question.

Table 2B. RACIAL MAKEUP OF THE 50 CFSC SAMPLE CENSUS TRACTS IN 1975 BY THEIR RACIAL MAKEUP IN 1970

		White[1]	Mixed[2]	Black[3]	Total
1975 Racial Make-up	White	37	-	-	(37)
	Mixed	1	2	-	(3)
	Black	1	2	7	(10)
		(39)	(4)	(7)	(50)

1. 0 to 19.99% black
2. 20 to 79.99% black
3. 80 to 100% black

Table 3. SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CFSC SAMPLE BY RACE

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents
A. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT) Which of these groups includes your family's total income for 1974, before taxes?		
0 - 4,999	35.7%	3.9%
5,000 - 9,999	24.3	12.7
10,000 - 14,999	17.1	24.0
15,000 - 19,999	7.1	21.4
20,000 - 24,999	1.4	12.7
25,000 - 29,999	1.4	7.0
30,000 - 34,999	-	4.4
35,000 - 39,999	-	4.4
40,000 - 44,999	-	0.4
45,000 - 49,999	-	0.4
50,000 or more	-	1.7
Don't know	2.9	0.9
No answer	10.0	6.1
Number of cases	(70)	(229)
B. What was the last grade in school that you completed?		
0 through 8	20.0	11.5
9 through 11	34.3	11.4
Completed high school	31.4	35.0
13 through 15	11.4	19.3
Completed college or more	2.9	22.8
Number of cases	(70)	(228)

The ethnic and geographical origins of the members of our sample are also quite interesting. While the last previous residence of 90 percent of the whites and 91 percent of the blacks was in Chicago or its suburbs, the places of birth for our black and white samples are quite disparate. (See Table 4) Close to 11 percent of the white sample was foreign-born, with another 31 percent of foreign or mixed parentage. Yet outside of the foreign-born, the vast majority of the white respondents–80.3 percent–spent their childhoods in the Midwest. (See Table 4) One of our black respondents was born in Africa, and 49 percent

Table 4. GENERATIONAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUNDS OF THE CFSC SAMPLE BY RACE

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents
A. Where did you live before you moved to this address?		
Chicago	91.4%	49.3%
Chicago suburb	-	40.6
Other large city (over 250,000 population)	2.9	1.3
Medium sized city (50,000 to 250,000)	-	2.6
Other	2.9	3.9
No answer	2.9	2.2
Number of cases	(70)	(229)
B. Generation		
Foreign raised	1.4	10.5
Foreign parentage	-	20.5
Mixed parentage	-	10.5
Native American parentage	98.6	57.2
No answer	-	1.3
Number of cases	(70)	(229)
C. In what state were you brought up (spent most time before age 16)?		
Foreign country	1.4	10.5
New England	-	0.4
Middle Atlantic	-	3.9
Midwest	48.5	80.3
South	47.2	3.5
Mountain	-	0.9
Pacific	2.9	0.4
Number of cases	(70)	(229)

were reared in the Midwest, but another 47 percent came to Chicago from the South. The largest number of these Southern migrants had their roots in Mississippi and Arkansas. Thus, while 90 percent or more of each sub-sample has been in Chicago for some period of time, a good number of both samples have their ancestral roots outside of the Midwest and are relative newcomers to Chicago.

Blacks and whites also differ in their perceptions of the quality of life. Over 90 percent of the whites expressed satisfaction with their neighborhoods and also rated them as fairly or very safe (see Table 5). Interestingly, the whites who expressed concern about the safety of their neighborhoods tended to single out traffic congestion and busy streets as the source of their discontent and not crime, gangs or drugs. Blacks on the other hand were not as pleased with their present circumstances. Thirty-seven percent thought their neighborhoods were dangerous, with the source of their worries centering on crime, drugs and gangs, not traffic. Only 60 percent considered their neighborhoods satisfactory. However, blacks were a bit more optimistic about the future of their neighborhoods, with 40 percent feeling that their neighborhoods would be better places to live in five years and only 20 percent expecting them to deteriorate. The same proportion of whites thought their communities would be worse off in five years, but only 12 percent thought that their areas would be better places to live. We believe that much of the race difference in projections for the future can be attributed to the colloquial phrase, "been down so long, looks like up to me." Things are still so bad in many parts of the inner city that they can only get better in five years.

We also found a great difference in the perception of the amount of discrimination that blacks still face. Twenty-three percent of whites, as opposed to 52 percent of blacks, thought that whites would get preferential treatment in hiring at their places of work. As seen in Table 5, D through G, similar or even more disparate distributions were observed in the black versus white perceptions of the quality of schooling black students received, the difference in the chances of blacks and whites for jobs after professional school, and whether blacks have to pay a premium for good housing.[3]

Racial attitudes and beliefs: their essence and structure

A. *Theoretical Perspectives*

The modern-day student of race relations has a long empirical and theoretical tradition to fall back upon. This tradition provides a platform from which to launch new inquiries; however, it also serves to confound the researcher with conflicting and contradictory theories and perspectives. Nonetheless, a consensus on the most important dimensions of race relations can be drawn

[3]Bogue will elaborate on black-white differentials in perception of discrimination in Chapter 3.

Table 5. PERCEPTIONS OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE AND ANTI-BLACK DISCRIMINATION BY RACE

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents
A. How would you rate this neighborhood as a place to live? Is it		
Very satisfactory	14.3%	48.0%
Satisfactory	45.7	42.8
Neutral	15.7	3.9
Unsatisfactory or	20.0	4.4
Very unsatisfactory?	4.3	0.9
Number of cases	(70)	(229)
B. Would you say this neighborhood is a very safe, fairly safe, somewhat dangerous or very dangerous place to live?		
Very safe	8.6	43.7
Fairly safe	54.3	48.5
Somewhat dangerous	25.7	7.4
Very dangerous	11.4	0.4
Number of cases	(70)	(229)
C. Five years from now, would you guess that this neighborhood will be a better place to live, a worse place to live, or will it be about the same?		
Better	40.0	11.8
The same	37.1	63.3
Worse	20.0	21.4
Don't know	2.9	3.1
No answer	-	0.4
Number of cases	(70)	(229)
D. If a black man and a white man--both equally qualified--applied for a job that was open at the place where you work, who would have the better chance of getting hired?		
The white man or	51.6	23.3
The black man?	3.2	20.0
Both would have an equal chance	45.2	46.7
Don't know	-	6.7
No answer	-	3.3
Number of cases	(31)	(120)

Table 5. PERCEPTIONS OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE AND ANTI-BLACK DISCRIMINATION BY RACE (cont.)

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents
E. How do you think the quality of education in black schools in Chicago compares with the quality of education in white schools? Do		
White areas have much better schools than black areas . . .	87.1%	22.3%
Moderately better schools than black areas	4.3	31.4
Are schools about equal in black and white areas	8.6	30.6
Do black areas have better school	-	0.9
Don't know	-	13.1
No answer	-	1.7
Number of cases	(70)	(229)
F. After graduation from college or professional school, who do you think has the better chance of getting a good job, a		
Black professional, or	2.9	15.4
White professional?	67.1	45.6
Both have the same chance	30.0	37.7
Don't know	-	1.3
Number of cases	(70)	(229)
G. Do you think black people usually have to pay more, the same or less rent than white people in order to rent the same amount and quality of housing?		
More	90.0	38.0
The same	5.7	46.7
Less	2.9	10.5
Don't know	1.4	4.4
No answer	-	0.4
Number of cases	(70)	(229)

from the literature. Of these core dimensions, the following can be profitably investigated through survey research--stereotypes, ethnocentrism-prescription, prejudice-proscription, and racism.

Stereotypes are beliefs which an individual holds about an ethnic or racial group. They are the least virulent of our four core dimensions of race relations, but they are also the most prolific and prevalent. The best definition of what is meant by stereotypes was given by Walter Lippmann in *Public Opinion.* According to Lippmann, stereotypes

> are an ordered, more or less consistent picture of the world, to which our habits, our tastes, our capacities, our comforts and our hopes have adjusted themselves. They may not be a complete picture of the world, but they are a picture of a possible world to which we are adapted. (Lippmann 1922, p. 19)

The problem regarding stereotypes is that as beliefs, not attitudes, they are susceptible to change through personal experiences and that they are difficult to translate into behavior. While bigoted individuals almost always hold very negative stereotypes about minority groups, a great many individuals who engage in stereotypes do not engage in bigotry. This anomaly is explained by Gordon Allport in *The Nature of Prejudice*:

> There is a natural basis for this tendency (to stereotype). Life is so short, and the demands upon us for practical adjustments so great, that we cannot let our ignorance detain us in our daily transactions. We have to decide whether objects are good or bad by classes. We cannot weight each object in the world by itself. Rough and ready rubrics, however coarse and broad, have to suffice. (Allport 1958, p.9)

This passage is not meant to justify stereotyping but to explain its functional significance for otherwise egalitarian individuals.

Ethnocentrism-prescription and prejudice-proscription fall under the aegis of what we call racial attitudes. As attitudes they are:

> more or less stable affective, cognitive orientations towards an object generally accompanied by supportive beliefs. (Rosenberg 1975)

The following definitions of ethnocentrism and prejudice are taken from Donald L. Noel's "Slavery and the Rise of Racism":

> Ethnocentrism is preeminently a matter of in-group glorification. Its inevitable concommitant is generalized rejection and disparagement of out-groups, but the focus is on the virtues of the in-group.
>
> Prejudice generally implies a negative orientation. This is particularly true in the interethnic context. Hence we can define prejudice as a hostile or negative attitude toward the members of a specific group solely because they are members of that group. In contrast to ethnocentrism, with its in-group focus and derivative generalized rejection of out-groups, prejudice is focused on and directed toward a specific out-group. (Noel 1972, pp. 156-159)

Noel has captured the evaluative components of ethnocentrism and prejudice; however, in this study we shall be more concerned with the behavioral aspects of these attitudes. We shall term the behavioral aspects of ethnocen-

trism and prejudice, prescription and proscription respectively. Prescription involves the choice of members of one's own racial or ethnic group for partners in interaction in primary and secondary associations over members of another group. Proscription involves the holding of sentiments in favor of denying or limiting an out-group's access to available resources by the members of another group regardless of whether that group has control over those resources or not. Prejudice-proscription implies ethnocentrism-prescription but not necessarily vice versa. However, one of the major research findings of this report is that *racial* ethnocentrism-prescription cannot be operationally differentiated from *racial* prejudice-proscription even though they are quite distinct theoretically.

Our theoretical definition of racism is taken from William Wilson's *Power, Racism and Privilege*. According to Wilson, racism is "an ideology of racial domination or exploitation that

1) incorporates beliefs in a particular race's cultural and/or inherent biological inferiority and
2) uses such beliefs to justify and prescribe inferior or unequal treatment for that group." (Wilson 1973, p. 32)

As an ideology, racism goes beyond the notion of an attitude and cannot be satisfactorily operationalized in a sample survey. We shall, however, be monitoring the two attitudinal components of racism: belief in innate inferiority and proscription. By monitoring them we can hopefully get at least a feeling for the prevalence and correlates of racism.

This list of four theoretical dimensions is not a standard list or an exhaustive one. Other scholars have renamed some of these dimensions, expanded or contracted them. For example, Schermerhorn (1970) differentiates two types of racism: maximal racism which incorporates beliefs in the biological inferiority of the minority group and minimal racism which incorporates beliefs in the subordinate group's cultural but not biological inferiority. In his study of black racial attitudes at the height of the civil rights movement, Gary Marx (1967) was particularly concerned with the relation of conventional civil rights militancy, support for black nationalism and anti-white hostility. Vannemann and Pettigrew (1972) isolated contact and competitive racism in their study of white support for black mayoral candidates. On the other side of the coin, Edna Bonacich (1972) and Sanford Labovitz (1975) in two separate articles have collapsed all of the above dimensions into an amorphous agglomeration termed "racial antagonism." Hubert Blalock similarly concentrates primarily on the "motivation to discriminate" in *Towards a Theory of Minority Group Relations* (1967). The four core dimensions which we have specified are what we consider to be the minimum number of key issues which a general survey of racial attitudes and beliefs should investigate. In order to round out our analysis, we shall also monitor sympathy for black separatism,

support for conventional militancy, and expressions of intimate social distance.

B. *Operationalization of Theoretical Concepts*

In this section we shall discuss two problems that arise in operationalizing the theoretical dimensions of race relations. First, we shall consider the problem of scaling. Survey questions are made into scales or are indexed in order to increase the validity and reliability of the measurements we make of rather abstract concepts; however, quite often scaling techniques hurt more than they help. We shall investigate the strengths and weaknesses of the four most common scaling techniques used in the analysis of race relations surveys:

a) Additive, Likert
b) Guttman scales
c) Factor scores
d) Indexes created by content analysis.

Secondly, we shall consider the problem of institutional settings and racial attitudes. The question here lies in how each of the core dimensions of race relations varies across the type of social system in which it can occur. For example, is there any difference in the relation between proscriptive attitudes and stereotypes in the context of the community as opposed to the context of the public schools or the family? Are certain groups within the population more apt to be prescriptive about schools, while others are more inclined to be prescriptive about employment?

Scaling. The additive or Likert-type scaling technique is the most popular of the four scaling methods mentioned above. Here several questions dealing with the same phenomenon are usually trichotomized into high, low and neutral and then scored appropriately 0, 1, or 2. An index score is computed for each respondent by adding up his scores on each of the component questions of the index. The problem with Likert or additive scales is that they quite often do not measure what they are supposed to measure. This problem arises under two sets of circumstances. First, Likert scales sometimes contain questions which make sense to the researcher substantively but are not highly intercorrelated statistically. This usually occurs when questions are worded improperly and respondents interpret the questions differently than the researcher. By including statistically aberrant questions in his indexes the researcher violates the conceptual purity of his measures. Instead of creating a unidimensional index of a unidimensional phenomenon, he creates a multidimensional index which measures nothing. Particularly lamentable examples of statistically unsound indexes can be found in Angus Campbell's three core measures of intergroup attitudes in *White Attitudes Towards Blacks* (Campbell 1971). Several of the component items in his indexes of social distance, perception of discrimination and support for black protest have ordinal correlation coefficients of less than .25; and some are as low as .13 (Campbell 1971,

p. 175). Though these correlations are significant due to the size of his sample, they are too low to justify inclusion in an additive index. At the other extreme are additive indexes which are statistically sound but substantively weak. A classic example of this type of scaling failure can be found in Gary Marx's index of anti-white hostility in *Protest and Prejudice* (Marx 1967). Marx included black neighborhood preference in his anti-white hostility index. Not surprisingly, this index was positively correlated with his index of black nationalism and inversely correlated with his index of conventional militancy for civil rights. Yet neighborhood preference measures ethnocentrism, not hostility. Subsequent reanalysis of Marx's data by this author showed that when neighborhood preference was used to measure separatism, not hostility, the relation between slightly altered versions of Marx's indexes of militancy and hostility no longer existed (Surgeon 1970). A good additive index is, however, very useful–especially at differentiating respondents who are high on some dimension from those who are low. Those who have a middling score are difficult to work with since we are not exactly sure to which of the questions they respond positively and to which negatively.

The Guttman scale solves the last problem of the additive scale by giving a definite meaning to each score in an additive index. It does this by specifying a particular order in the level of acceptance or rejection of certain attitudes. A person who accepts the least acceptable of a series of opinions is hypothesized to have accepted all of the rest. If he rejects the least acceptable opinion than he is hypothesized to accept all of the other more acceptable opinions, and so on. The famed Bogardus social distance scale is an example of a Guttman scale (Bogardus 1925, A and B). Bogue and McKinley (1967) and Greeley (1971 and 1975) among others have also used Guttman scales in their race relations research. Questions of the statistical validity of Guttman scales are checked through a series of measures developed specifically for this scaling technique. The problem with Guttman scales is that quite often they are not appropriate, and we cannot use them. Another problem lies in the fact that there are always errors in Guttman scales where a respondent accepts an opinion he should have rejected or rejects one he should have accepted. If these errors are randomly distributed the results are not affected, but if they are not some parts of an analysis can be quite misleading. Moreover, Guttman and Likert scales weight each component item of an index equally. It is possible and often preferable to develop indexes with unequally weighted component questions. For example, if we wanted to build an index of black nationalism for our black respondents we may have wished to weight preference of an all-black neighborhood more than preference of an all-black work force, or vice versa. The questions are: to which variable should we give more weight, and how much weight should we give to it? Likert scales tell us to use intuition; the idea of unequal weights is antithetical to a Guttman scale. However, there is a technique–factor analysis–which does tell us how to assign unequal

weights to scaled questions.

Factor analysis, the most sophisticated scaling technique we shall discuss, produces factor scores which tell us how to weight questions in an index. A factor analysis creates new variables called factors which are linear combinations of existing variables–questions from the survey. By definition, each of the factors is perfectly independent of the others; they have intercorrelations of zero. In a successful factor analysis there are fewer factors than there were original variables. Ideally each factor correlates very highly with some of the original variables and not at all with the others. Similarly, each of the original variables should correlate quite highly with only one of the factors. A hypothetical example might prove helpful. Let us say we have six original variables; the first three measure proscriptive sentiments and the last three stereotypes. If proscriptive sentiments really are different from stereotypes, and if our original variables are measuring what they are supposed to be measuring, then we would expect that only two significant factors would be generated by a factor analysis. One factor would be highly correlated with the proscriptive questions and the second with the stereotype questions. If stereotype and proscriptive questions are tapping the same phenomenon within our respondents' heads, then we would expect the factor analysis to generate only one significant factor to which all six of our original variables would be highly correlated. Factor scores are the algebraic definitions of each of the factors. We give these factors names by analyzing with which variables they are correlated. Factor scores are extremely useful and accurate given the right kinds of data. The problem is that survey data are not the right kind of data. Several very strict statistical assumptions are made about the variables being transformed by factor analytic routines which are usually not met by variables from sample surveys. Thus, generating factor scores from survey data is somewhat questionable from a statistical viewpoint. However, for expository purposes factor analysis is an extremely valuable technique for testing the unidimensionality of additive scales after the researcher has given thought to their substantive meaning.

Scaling by means of content analysis of in-depth interviews is by far the best method of scaling race relations survey data. Bettelheim and Janowitz used this method to create anti-black and anti-Semitic prejudice scales in their *Dynamics of Prejudice* (1968). However, Bettelheim and Janowitz had a sample size of only 150, and they had the opportunity to interview each respondent for several hours. We had twice as many respondents and only enough financial and personnel resources to interview them for about an hour each.

In this report we have tried to solve the problem of scaling by setting rigorous substantive and statistical guidelines for our scales. All of the items in each additive scale have minimal, ordinal intercorrelations of .25. Their unidimensionality was tested by performing separate factor analyses for each index. Similar strict standards were met by our Guttman scales. No factor

scores shall be used. If, through the reports of our interviewers, we found that our respondents were not fully comprehending certain questions, these questions were excluded from consideration in our indexes.

Institutional Settings. The importance of institutional settings in race relations surveys has largely been ignored or glossed over in past research. Most authors have tended to follow Bogardus and Gunnar Myrdal by approaching the institutional settings of race relations in the spirit of a Guttman scale. Bogardus showed that whites are most proscriptive about issues which directly affect their families and less proscriptive about jobs and citizenship. (Bogardus 1925) In the introduction to *An American Dilemma,* Gunnar Myrdal noted that whites tended to be more averse to integration in areas which blacks were least interested in integrating, and conversely, that blacks were most concerned about gaining access to the institutions to which whites were most favorably disposed to grant access. (Myrdal 1962) With the exception of Stember (1961), Blalock (1967) and Pettigrew (1971), little else has been done on the institutional settings of race relations. Ethnocentric attitudes have usually been considered to behave like proscriptive attitudes, if they are considered at all. Stereotypes tend to be treated as monolithic; that is, it is hypothesized that if an individual believes blacks are lazy on the job then he will think that they are slovenly in other contexts. These assumptions do make sense in some contexts and are valuable in terms of simplifying the nature and number of racial attitudes under consideration. However, we believe that these assumptions should not go without investigation, and that valuable insights can be gained by studying attitudes in a series of institutional settings as well as in general. The advantages in pursuing this strategy are illustrated in the following example. In his 1965 Boston study, Pettigrew hypothesized that a great deal of the antagonism over busing was generated by fears that integrated schools would lead to integrated neighborhoods. (Pettigrew 1971, p. 223) We believe however, that white opposition to busing is tapping something more complex than simply white fear of neighborhood integration. Yet if we or Pettigrew simply threw opposition to busing into a Likert or Guttman scale then we would not be able to adequately investigate such a theory. Considering the institutional context of variables also allows us to observe how sub-sections of our sample respond differently to racial issues in different settings. For example, in the next chapter we shall show that women tend to be slightly more proscriptive and prescriptive than men—in general, in primary group associations, on the job and in the community. Yet men are significantly more prescriptive about secondary associations in the school. Once again, if we had decided simply to study racial attitudes in general we never would have uncovered this difference.

We shall consider proscriptive and prescriptive attitudes about secondary associations in the school, in the community and at work. Then we shall look at attitudes about primary group associations in the family and friendship

circles. We shall also study the degree of stereotyping and the types of stereotype whites hold about blacks in the first three settings. Of course, our report will also include general measures which cut across institutional boundaries.

C. *Marginal Distributions*

In Table 6 we have tabulated responses given by our white sample to a number of questions. The most striking marginal distributions are the two concerned with busing. Seventy-nine percent of the whites expressed opposition to busing black children to white schools, and eighty-three percent were against busing whites to black schools. These distributions struck us as somewhat peculiar when we considered them in the context of the other questions about race and the schools, for the majority of whites perceive an inequity in the quality of education black children receive in black schools. A good portion believe blacks do better in integrated schools. Very few whites perceive damaging consequences from black and white teenagers going to the same schools. And although there is a good deal of ethnocentrism expressed about the ideal racial makeup of neighborhood schools, still a majority say either that they are not concerned with their schools' racial makeup or that they would prefer their children to attend an integrated school. Thus, while whites do not express a great deal of sentiment against integrated schools and a good many even perceive integrated schools as preferable to segregated schools, they are nonetheless overwhelmingly opposed to busing as a means to achieve integration. Pettigrew found similar, apparently contradictory attitudes in his Boston study. As we mentioned earlier, he interpreted the lack of support for busing as an indication of a fear of neighborhood desegregation:

> Our data strongly point to the central importance of opposition to biracial neighborhoods. We believe that the special significance of the sudden devotion in the urban North to the concept of the 'neighborhood school' lies more in the adjective 'neighborhood' than in the noun 'school'; and that the rejection of 'busing' is linked to the perception by many whites that 'busing' is a harbinger of residential desegregation. (Pettigrew 1971, p. 223)

If Pettigrew's assertion still held in 1975, then we would expect that our white respondents would be as overwhelmingly opposed to integrated communities as they were to busing. Such a conclusion simply is not substantiated. While around 40 percent of the whites in our sample were proscriptive about their communities (36 percent objected to blacks moving next door and 46 percent believed that whites have rights to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods), the support for neighborhood proscription was nowhere close to the 80 percent level found in busing. These figures indicate that at most only half of the present opposition to busing is motivated by fear of neighborhood integration. This supposition is borne out by Table 7, A and B. While 97 percent of those who would object to a black family moving next door are opposed

Table 6. MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS TO SELECTED PROSCRIPTIVE, PRESCRIPTIVE, STEREOTYPE AND OTHER QUESTIONS BY INSTITUTIONAL SETTING

I. SCHOOL	
A. How do you feel about the busing of black children into white neighborhoods to integrate schools? Are you	
Strongly in favor	3.1 %
Moderately in favor	10.0
Neutral	6.1
Moderately opposed or	31.4
Strongly opposed?	48.5
No answer	0.9
Number of cases	(229)
B. How do you feel about the busing of white children into black neighborhoods to integrate schools? Are you	
Strongly in favor	2.2
Moderately in favor	5.2
Neutral	5.7
Moderately opposed or	27.5
Strongly opposed?	55.5
No answer	3.9
Number of cases	(229)
C. Do you think the public schools in black neighborhoods of Chicago are generally adequate to meet the needs of the students who attend them?	
Yes	17.5
No	48.0
No opinion	33.2
No answer	1.3
Number of cases	(229)

Table 6. MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS TO SELECTED PROSCRIPTIVE, PRESCRIPTIVE, STEREOTYPE AND OTHER QUESTIONS BY INSTITUTIONAL SETTING (cont.)

I. SCHOOL (CONT.)	
D. How do you think the quality of education in black schools in Chicago compares with the quality of education in white schools? Do	
White areas have much better schools than black areas	22.3%
Moderately better schools than black areas	31.4
Are schools about equal in black and white areas, or	30.6
Do blacks have better schools . .	0.9
Don't know	13.1
No answer	1.7
Number of cases	(229)
E. Do you think that black children generally get a better education if they go to	
All black schools or	12.2
Racially integrated schools? . . .	43.7
No difference	20.5
Depends, don't know	23.1
No answer	0.4
Number of cases	(229)
F. How do you think going to an integrated high school affects the feeling of white teenagers toward black teenagers? Do white teenagers	
Become more friendly toward blacks	43.7
Stay the same or	30.6
Become less friendly toward blacks	17.0
Don't know	6.6
No answer	2.2
Number of cases	(229)

Table 6. MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS TO SELECTED PROSCRIPTIVE, PRESCRIPTIVE, STEREOTYPE AND OTHER QUESTIONS BY INSTITUTIONAL SETTING (cont.)

I. SCHOOL (CONT.)	
G. What kind of school would you prefer your children (grandchildren) to attend?	
An all white school or	38.0%
A racially integrated school?	35.8
No preference	24.9
No answer	1.3
Number of cases	(229)
H. Do you think white schools should have only white teachers or should there be some black and some white teachers?	
Only white	10.9
Some white, some black	65.1
No difference	23.1
Don't know	.4
No answer	.4
Number of cases	(229)
II. COMMUNITY	
*I. Suppose that a black family of the same occupation and income as your family bought a house next door to you (rented an apartment in your building). Would you	
Object strongly	18.0
Object moderately or	17.5
Not object at all	63.9
No answer	0.5
Number of cases	(193)

*This question was asked only of those who did not have blacks living on their blocks.

Table 6. MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS TO SELECTED PROSCRIPTIVE, PRESCRIPTIVE, STEREOTYPE AND OTHER QUESTIONS BY INSTITUTIONAL SETTING (cont.)

II. COMMUNITY (CONT.)	
J. Many white people feel that they should have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhood if they want to. Do you	
Completely agree	20.5 %
Partially agree	24.9
Neutral	6.1
Partially disagree or	24.0
Completely disagree	24.0
Number of cases	(229)
K. Which of these four policies on race do you think would be best for this country? CHOOSE ONE	
Black people should work to become a completely separate nation	3.9
Black people should live in separate neighborhoods from whites	37.6
Blacks and whites should live together in the same neighborhoods or	52.8
Blacks and whites should intermarry until there are no longer two separate races	3.5
No answer	2.2
Number of cases	(229)

Table 6. MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS TO SELECTED PROSCRIPTIVE, PRESCRIPTIVE, STEREOTYPE AND OTHER QUESTIONS BY INSTITUTIONAL SETTING (cont.)

III. EMPLOYMENT	
**L. Do you prefer to work at a place where the people who you work with are	
All white	5.8 %
Some white, some black, or	14.2
Doesn't it matter?	78.3
Don't know	0.8
No answer	0.8
Number of cases	(120)
**M. Suppose you got a new supervisor or boss who was a black qualified for the job. Would you	
Dislike it very much	0.8
Dislike it somewhat or	9.2
Wouldn't it matter	88.3
No answer	1.7
Number of cases	(120)
**N. Suppose you got a new supervisor or boss who was a woman, qualified for the job. Would you	
Dislike it very much	3.3
Dislike it	17.5
Neutral	49.2
Like it or	18.3
Like it very much?	10.8
No answer	0.8
Number of cases	(120)

**These questions were asked only of those who were employed at the time of the interview.

Table 6. MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS TO SELECTED PROSCRIPTIVE, PRESCRIPTIVE, STEREOTYPE AND OTHER QUESTIONS BY INSTITUTIONAL SETTING (cont.)

III. EMPLOYMENT (CONT.)	
O. Some people say that building trade unions (like carpenters, electricians) give preference to whites over blacks in union memberships and apprenticeships. Do you	
Approve or	8.0%
Disapprove of this policy? . . .	72.0
Don't know	18.0
No answer	3.0
Number of cases	(229)
P. Some people say that white employers in Chicago have a policy of giving their supervisory positions (such as shop foreman or office manager) to whites, even though qualified blacks are available. Do you	
Approve or	5.0
Disapprove of this policy? . . .	76.0
Don't know	16.0
No answer	3.0
Number of cases	(229)
Q. Some companies hire very few black people in important jobs. Certain black leaders think that these companies should be given a quota of black workers that must be employed in good jobs. Do you	
Strongly favor	1.0
Favor	14.0
Neutral	11.0
Oppose or	46.0
Strongly oppose this policy? . .	24.0
No answer	1.0
Number of cases	(229)

Table 6. MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS TO SELECTED PROSCRIPTIVE, PRESCRIPTIVE, STEREOTYPE AND OTHER QUESTIONS BY INSTITUTIONAL SETTING (cont.)

IV. PRIMARY ASSOCIATIONS	
R. Have you ever visited a black friend in his or her home?	
Yes . . (ASK 1)	43.0 %
No	55.0
Number of cases	(229)
1. How often do you visit socially (drop in for coffee, have a meal or spend an evening) in the homes of black families:	
Once a week or more	1.0
2 to 3 times a month . . .	4.0
Once a month or	7.0
Less than that	88.0
Number of cases	(98)
S. Suppose you had a teenage son or daughter who began dating a black friend. Would you	
Approve strongly	0.0
Approve	12.0
Neutral, depends	6.0
Disapprove or	36.0
Disapprove strongly	45.0
Number of cases	(229)

Table 6. MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS TO SELECTED PROSCRIPTIVE, PRESCRIPTIVE, STEREOTYPE AND OTHER QUESTIONS BY INSTITUTIONAL SETTING (cont.)

IV. PRIMARY ASSOCIATIONS (CONT.)	
T. Suppose you had a 25-year-old son or daughter who announced his or her engagement to a black fiance. If they seemed well-matched in interests and personality, would you	
Try to prevent them from getting married	29.0%
Advise them not to get married or	52.0
Approve of the marriage?	14.0
Don't know	2.0
No answer	3.0
Number of cases	(229)
V. GENERAL STEREOTYPES	
U. Black people are not as good at planning ahead and working in terms of long-range goals as whites.	
Mostly true	56.3
Mostly false	37.6
Don't know	5.7
No answer	0.4
Number of cases	(229)
V. White people worry more about keeping up appearances and what other people will think of them than black people do.	
Mostly true	65.9
Mostly false	30.6
Don't know	2.6
No answer	0.9
Number of cases	(229)

Table 6. MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS TO SELECTED PROSCRIPTIVE, PRESCRIPTIVE, STEREOTYPE AND OTHER QUESTIONS BY INSTITUTIONAL SETTING (cont.)

V. GENERAL STEREOTYPES (CONT.)	
W. White people have better sex morals than blacks.	
Mostly true	45.4%
Mostly false	44.5
Don't know	9.6
No answer	0.4
Number of cases	(229)
X. Black men don't feel as much responsibility toward their families as white men do.	
Mostly true	54.1
Mostly false	40.2
Don't know	5.2
No answer	0.4
Number of cases	(229)
VI. WORK STEREOTYPES	
Y. There are several reasons why white people say they don't like to work on the same job with black people. I'm going to read a list of reasons and ask you to say whether you agree or disagree with each one.	
1. Black workers are more inclined than white workers to loaf and not do their share of the work.	
Agree	35.8
Disagree	50.7
Don't know	13.1
No answer	0.4
Number of cases	(229)

Table 6. MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS TO SELECTED PROSCRIPTIVE, PRESCRIPTIVE, STEREOTYPE AND OTHER QUESTIONS BY INSTITUTIONAL SETTING (cont.)

VI. WORK STEREOTYPES (CONT.)	
2. Black workers are not as careful about doing their job right as white workers.	
Agree	24.0%
Disagree	55.0
Don't know	21.0
Number of cases	(229)
3. Black workers often don't understand instructions or forget important details.	
Agree	29.7
Disagree	49.8
Don't know	20.5
Number of cases	(229)
4. When there are both black and white workers on the job, the blacks tend to socialize together and make whites feel unwelcome.	
Agree	39.3
Disagree	38.9
Don't know	21.8
Number of cases	(229)

Table 7A. BUSING BY OBJECTION TO BLACKS NEXT DOOR

How do you feel about the busing of white children into black neighborhoods to integrate schools? Are you...	Suppose that a black family of the same occupation and income as your family bought a house next door to you (rented an apartment in your building). Would you... Not object at all	Object strongly or moderately
Strongly or moderately in favor	10.9%	0.0%
Neutral or don't know	7.6	3.1
Strongly or moderately opposed	81.5	96.9
	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	(119)*	(65)*
χ^2 p-value p≤.008		
r=.75841		
Somer's Symmetric D =.20789		

*Object to blacks next door was only asked of those who were living on non-integrated blocks. Thus the total number of cases comes to less than the 229 in the white sample.

Table 7B. BUSING BY BELIEF THAT WHITES HAVE THE RIGHT TO KEEP BLACKS OUT OF THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS

How do you feel about the busing of white children into black neighborhoods to integrate schools? Are you...	Many white people feel that they should have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods if they want to. Do you... Partially or Completely Disagree	Neutral or Don't Know	Partially or Completely Agree
Strongly or moderately in favor	15.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Neutral or Don't know	7.5	7.7	4.0
Strongly or moderately opposed	77.6	92.3	95.0
	100.1%	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	(107)	(13)	(100)
χ^2 p-value p≤.0019			
r=.65740			
Somer's Symmetric D =.22535			

to busing, 82 percent of those who would not object to blacks next door still were opposed to busing. Almost identical figures are found in the cross-tabulation of busing by belief that whites have the right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods. Yet we agree with Pettigrew that the non-racial aspect of opposition to busing cannot be attributed to some newfound loyalty to the neighborhood school. Rather we believe that a good deal of it can be traced to a fear of *class* and not necessarily *racial* integration. In several interviews conducted by the author, white respondents stated that they were not opposed to racial integration in the schools as long as the blacks in their schools were from their own communities or for some other reasons were "okay." What seemed to trouble them about busing was that busing might bring "undesirable elements" into their schools or that busing might send their children into "hostile environments." They feared that if inner city youths were bused to their neighborhoods, soon the schools would be taken over by gangs and drug pushers. Similarly, they expressed fears that if their children were sent to inner city schools they would be beaten up in the washrooms and otherwise intimidated.

Another interesting point is revealed by comparing proscriptive-prescriptive questions focused on the school with those focused on the community. In the past, whites have shown more of an inclination towards ethnocentrism and prejudice on community-related than on school-related issues. (Hyman and Sheatsley 1956 and 1964; Greeley and Sheatsley 1971) However, our data tend to show an equivalent level of proscription and prescription in both areas. (Table 6, G through K) In 1975, our sample appears not to be differentiating the community context from the school context of these attitudes. However, we shall withhold our judgment as to whether this is true for all segments of our population until the next section, where cross-tabulations of these attitudes with socioeconomic and demographic variables should clarify the issue.

The traditional finding that whites are least proscriptive and prescriptive about employment is replicated by our data. (Table 6, L through Q). Among those employed at the time of the survey, only 6 percent responded ethnocentrically by preferring an all-white work group. Fewer whites expressed dislike over having a supervisor who was black than over having one who was female. Likewise, very little support was expressed for hypothetical discriminatory policies whether practiced by trade unions or by management. However, the overwhelming majority of respondents were opposed to the establishment of hiring quotas for minorities. Most respondents expressed distaste for the obligatory nature of a quota system and indicated that they did not think quotas were necessary in the age of affirmative action. As other authors have noted, a good deal of the egalitarianism expressed in attitudes about employment can be traced to the fact that the hypothetical scenarios painted by survey questions quite often are *faits accomplis.* That is, many of those who

were working at the time of the interview were working in integrated settings, some with black supervisors. Similarly, while discrimination in hiring and promotion still exists, trade unions no longer have discriminatory clauses in their charters and no corporation would ever admit to racial favoritism in its promotion policies.

While whites do not show a great deal of social distance towards blacks on the job, they do in their primary group associations. A good number of whites professed to having a black friend, but few visited their black friends with any regularity. The ideas of interracial dating and marriage entertained as little support as busing. (Table 6, R through T)

It has been commonly supposed that if blacks and whites got together and learned about each other, a lot of the unfavorable images they have about each other would be eliminated. Once these unfavorable stereotypes were eliminated, prejudices would slip away as well. (Rose 1956 and Ford 1974) In their marginal form, our data cannot refute such an hypothesis, but they do raise questions about it. In every setting, the prevalence of stereotyped beliefs was greater than the prevalence of prejudiced attitudes. Indeed, the continued pervasiveness of unfavorable stereotypes among whites was one of our most surprising findings. As seen in Table 6, U through X, a majority of whites believe that blacks are not as good at planning ahead, that blacks are not as concerned about their appearance, and that black men are not as responsible towards their families as are whites. A large proportion also believe that blacks have lower sexual morality. Though the prevalence of stereotypes about blacks on the job is not extreme, it still is greater than the prevalence of prejudiced attitudes on the job. (Table 6Y) If the absence of stereotyped beliefs is a precondition for the reduction of prejudice, we would have expected quite the opposite. An explanation of this reversal can be pursued through the *fait accompli* theory mentioned earlier, and through Gunnar Myrdal's famous "American dilemma" theory. The values of American culture clearly hold discrimination as unacceptable. Since the mid-1960's, discrimination in all secondary associations has also been illegal. Thus it is hypothesized that to hold tenaciously to attitudes which favor discriminatory practices is psychologically disorienting. It becomes particularly disorienting when these attitudes are called into conflict with the norms and values of the larger society, as they were throughout the course of the civil rights movement. However, as is often said, "That doesn't mean I have to like 'em." While I might have to let blacks into my neighborhood to conform to the law, I do not have to invite them into my home or let them date my children. While I might have to work with blacks, and I might even think that there is nothing philosophically wrong with having black co-workers, I do not have to believe that they are just as good as my white co-workers or myself. Such beliefs are often selectively reinforced by the presence of a black co-worker who is not too terribly sharp. Rabb and Lipset pointed out that attitudes tend to adjust themselves to

changes in the social structure (Rabb and Lipset 1971); however, beliefs do not necessarily lead or follow structural or attitudinal change. "What ought" might be determined by the national culture, but "what is" or rather "what we believe to be" is more likely to be shaped by our own personal experiences and social milieus.

D. *Verification of Assumptions Through Factor Analysis*

In the previous three sections we have proposed a number of hypotheses about the nature and dimensions of racial attitudes and beliefs. Chief among these are:

1. There are three distinct dimensions to racial attitudes and beliefs that we may investigate through survey research: proscription-prejudice, prescription-ethnocentrism, and stereotypes.
2. These three core dimensions vary according to the institutional settings in which they are found.
3. Opposition to or support for busing has non-racial as well as racial aspects.

If these assumptions are indeed tenable, then a factor analysis should bear them out. If we entered all of the race-related questions from our survey into a factor analysis and extracted only four factors, then we would expect one factor to be correlated primarily with ethnocentrism, a second with prejudice, a third with stereotypes and a fourth with busing. If we allowed the computer to generate all significant factors,[4] then we should obtain one factor for each of the core dimensions in each of the four settings. Table 8 contains the factor loading matrix of the four-factor model, and Table 9, the saturated model.[5] The reader will remember that factors are linear combinations of the original variables, and that all factors are perfectly uncorrelated. A factor loading matrix is a matrix of Pearson correlation coefficients between the original variables and the created factors.

The results of the four-factor and saturated-factor models confirm some of our assumptions and call others into question. In the four-factor solution, work, school and general stereotypes correlate highest with factor 1. There are also strong but secondary correlations between factor 1 and community stereotypes and some proscriptive and prescriptive items. Factor 2 is defined by busing and opposition to interracial dating. So far everything has fallen pretty much as we had anticipated. The surprises come in analyzing factors 3 and 4. Instead of correlating with separate factors, proscription and prescription in secondary associations fall together on factor 3. Also correlated with

[4]Significant factors are defined as all those with eigenvalues greater than or equal to one.

[5]Those questions which were not asked of all respondents or were interpreted with some ambiguity by our respondents were excluded from the factor analyses.

KEY TO VARIABLES IN FACTOR ANALYSES PRESENTED IN TABLES 8 AND 9

V01 Black workers are more inclined than white workers to loaf and not do their share of the work.

V02 Black workers are not as careful about doing their job right as white workers.

V03 Black workers often don't understand instructions or forget important details.

V04 When there are both black and white workers on the job, the blacks tend to socialize together and make whites feel unwelcome.

V05 Some people believe that black teachers are not able to teach white students as well as white teachers can.

V06 The average black child has less inherited capacity than the average white child to think out the correct answers to difficult problems.

V07 Most black parents do not encourage their children to study as hard as white parents do.

V08 When black families move in, property values go down.

V09 When black families move in, violence and crime increase in the neighborhood.

V10 Black families do not take care of their houses and apartments and as a result a neighborhood gets run down after black families move in.

V11 Once blacks start to move in, a neighborhood becomes mostly black in a very short time.

V12 Do black people have the same, greater, somewhat less or much less inherited capacity for intelligence than whites do?

V13 Black people are not as good at planning ahead and working in terms of long-range goals as whites.

V14 White people have better sex morals than blacks.

V15 Black men don't feel as much responsibility toward their families as white men do.

V16 White people are more cooperative and helpful to each other than blacks are to each other.

V17 Some people say that building trade unions (like carpenters, electricians) give preference to whites over blacks in union memberships and apprenticeships. Do you approve or disapprove of this policy?

V18 Some people say that white employers in Chicago have a policy of giving their supervisory positions (such as shop foreman or office manager) to whites, even though qualified blacks are available. Do you approve or disapprove of this policy?

V19 Do you think white schools should have only white teachers or should there be some black and some white teachers?

V20 What kind of school would you prefer your children (grandchildren) to attend? An all-white school or a racially integrated school?

KEY TO VARIABLES IN FACTOR ANALYSES PRESENTED IN TABLES 8 AND 9 (continued)

V21 How do you feel about the busing of black children into white neighborhoods to integrate schools?

V22 How do you feel about the busing of white children into black neighborhoods to integrate schools?

V23 Recently there have been public protests by whites in cities like Boston and Detroit to oppose busing of black students to schools in white areas. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the actions of these protesters?

V24 Many white people feel that they should have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhood if they want to. Do you completely agree, partially agree, partially disagree or completely disagree?

V25 Suppose that a black family wants to move into an all-white neighborhood. How do you feel about whites in the neighborhood buying up the property and finding a white family to buy it?

V26 Sometimes when a black family wishes to move into an all-white neighborhood, the white residents protest by holding public demonstrations to try to keep blacks out. Do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of such protests?

V27 Which of these four policies on race do you think would be best for this country? Black people should work to become a completely separate nation, black people should live in separate neighborhoods from whites, blacks and whites should live together in the same neighborhoods or blacks and whites should intermarry until there are no longer two separate races?

V28 Have you ever had a close friend who was black?

V29 How often do you visit socially (drop in for coffee, have a meal or spend an evening) in the homes of black families?

V30 How would you feel about being seen in public in the company of a black person of the same sex or a black couple? (By this I mean eating in a restaurant or going to a movie with black people.) Would you feel very comfortable, comfortable, uncomfortable or very uncomfortable?

V31 Suppose you had a teenage son or daughter who began dating a black friend. Would you approve strongly, approve, disapprove, or disapprove strongly?

V32 Suppose you had a 25-year-old son or daughter who announced his or her engagement to a black fiancé. If they seemed to be well-matched in interests and personality, would you try to prevent them from getting married, advise them not to get married or approve the marriage?

Table 8. UNSATURATED FACTOR LOADING MATRIX OF RACE-RELATED VARIABLES[1]

Variable[2]	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4
V01	0.542	0.187	0.242	-0.011
V02	0.467	0.124	0.294	0.038
V03	0.564	0.093	0.170	0.051
V04	0.296	-0.009	-0.080	0.019
V05	0.306	-0.039	0.169	0.174
V06	0.586	0.105	0.169	0.180
V07	0.356	-0.092	0.047	0.055
V08	0.334	0.260	0.356	0.170
V09	0.228	0.100	0.479	0.053
V10	0.291	0.191	0.441	0.120
V11	0.283	0.075	0.303	0.031
V12	0.581	0.121	0.179	0.094
V13	0.450	0.076	0.189	0.042
V14	0.452	0.159	0.350	-0.011
V15	0.578	0.137	0.194	0.040
V16	0.337	0.032	0.221	0.054
V17	0.074	0.093	0.377	0.139
V18	-0.006	0.033	0.398	0.156
V19	0.210	0.025	0.417	0.147
V20	0.308	0.187	0.584	0.163
V21	0.085	0.842	0.191	0.016
V22	0.103	0.848	0.231	0.058
V23	0.198	0.250	0.461	0.123
V24	0.070	0.231	0.737	0.072
V25	0.191	0.116	0.608	0.031
V26	0.207	0.006	0.620	0.118
V27	0.282	0.168	0.554	0.161
V28	0.063	-0.033	0.084	0.714
V29	0.063	0.058	0.160	0.617
V30	0.213	0.073	0.378	0.432
V31	0.194	0.466	0.354	0.330
V32	0.133	0.310	0.310	0.519

[1]Varimax rotations of principal factors with communalities computed iteratively.

[2]See key for definition of variables.

Table 9. FULL FACTOR LOADING MATRIX OF RACE RELATED VARIABLES[1]

Variables[2]	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5	FACTOR 6	FACTOR 7	FACTOR 8	FACTOR 9
V01	0.166	0.000	0.188	0.609	0.161	0.189	0.140	0.060	0.223
V02	0.064	0.069	0.174	0.741	0.166	0.125	0.197	0.089	0.017
V03	0.070	0.082	0.205	0.436	0.117	0.257	-0.039	0.118	0.288
V04	0.013	0.012	-0.015	0.156	0.002	0.023	-0.083	0.054	0.476
V05	-0.010	0.126	0.168	-0.065	0.191	0.201	0.209	-0.048	0.407
V06	0.085	0.193	0.131	0.133	0.204	0.631	-0.015	0.229	0.092
V07	-0.094	0.011	-0.054	0.062	0.204	0.110	0.145	0.249	0.316
V08	0.221	0.194	0.275	0.111	0.277	0.052	0.006	0.464	0.073
V09	0.095	0.064	0.396	0.128	-0.025	0.128	0.168	0.334	0.093
V10	0.156	0.117	0.246	0.155	0.220	0.110	0.246	0.445	-0.044
V11	0.042	0.038	0.246	0.019	0.036	0.145	-0.048	0.593	0.102
V12	0.120	0.094	0.196	0.209	0.121	0.632	0.013	0.067	0.169
V13	0.030	0.039	0.163	0.126	0.467	0.260	0.022	0.106	0.030
V14	0.120	-0.007	0.305	0.110	0.352	0.315	0.038	0.268	0.008
V15	0.095	0.027	0.199	0.219	0.604	0.168	-0.001	0.094	0.263
V16	0.024	0.029	0.126	0.107	0.235	0.306	0.211	0.065	0.024
V17	0.095	0.098	0.128	0.193	0.043	0.033	0.586	0.090	-0.086
V18	0.061	0.086	0.205	-0.003	0.024	-0.015	0.661	-0.026	0.069
V19	0.042	0.135	0.329	0.176	-0.070	0.171	0.314	0.087	0.148
V20	0.172	0.191	0.583	0.170	0.149	0.172	0.131	0.124	0.096
V21	0.853	0.015	0.174	0.070	0.052	0.126	0.071	0.041	-0.038
V22	0.860	0.060	0.208	0.099	0.017	0.073	0.073	0.118	0.037
V23	0.243	0.147	0.512	0.093	0.160	0.047	0.053	0.041	0.123
V24	0.208	0.116	0.712	0.078	0.114	0.028	0.152	0.141	-0.116
V25	0.080	0.074	0.631	0.105	0.166	0.105	0.046	0.147	-0.067
V26	0.008	0.133	0.603	0.083	0.058	0.134	0.190	0.121	0.114
V27	0.152	0.167	0.451	0.095	0.162	0.226	0.223	0.247	-0.009
V28	-0.033	0.707	0.055	-0.008	-0.017	0.126	0.073	-0.006	0.023
V29	0.053	0.646	0.159	0.019	-0.028	0.049	0.008	0.053	0.070
V30	0.053	0.447	0.297	0.155	0.100	0.156	0.162	0.124	-0.025
V31	0.433	0.345	0.253	0.148	0.268	0.036	0.157	0.159	-0.055
V32	0.299	0.537	0.170	0.033	0.319	-0.107	0.231	0.170	0.062

[1]Varimax rotations of principal factors with communalities computed iteratively.

[2]See key for definition of variables.

factor 3 are community stereotypes; some of the other stereotypes have large secondary correlations here as well. Factor 4 is determined by variables measuring social distance in primary groups. Similar surprises are encountered in the saturated model of Table 9. Here nine significant factors were generated. The variables which correlate with each of these factors are summarized below:

Factor	*Correlating variable*
1	Busing, interracial dating
2	Primary group prejudice–ethnocentrism
3	School and community prejudice–ethnocentrism
4	Traditional work stereotypes
5	Traditional general stereotypes
6	Intelligence stereotypes
7	Work proscription
8	Community stereotypes
9	School and modern stereotypes

From Tables 8 and 9 we can draw the following conclusions:

1. Racial ethnocentrism cannot be operationally distinguished from racial prejudice. The differentiation of these two concepts is probably still useful in an ethnic setting, but there is little utility in distinguishing them in a racial setting, at least when they are operationalized as we operationalized them.

2. Stereotypes do tap a different dimension of race relations than proscription and prescription. However, the reader will observe that stereotypes have rather large secondary loadings on proscriptive-prescriptive factors and vice versa, especially in Table 8. This indicates that while stereotypes define a distinct dimension of race relations they are not totally independent of proscription and prescription.

3. It is important to distinguish the institutional setting of racial attitudes and beliefs, although setting is less important than type. This is especially obvious in the saturated factor solution.

4. Proscription-prescription in the school cannot be distinguished from proscription-prescription in the community. We noted earlier that there was an equal level of support for prejudice and ethnocentrism in school and community settings. Table 9 confirms our supposition that they were tapping the same general attitude in our respondents.

5. Opposition to busing entails something more than fear of neighborhood desegregation. In both factor solutions, the two busing questions correlated with only one factor. The other variables which loaded on the busing factor measured attitudes about interracial dating and marriage. These correlations indicate that opposition to busing has some "last stand" component. Individuals who in other ways appear quite liberal on racial issues seem to draw the line at busing and miscegenation.

6. Beliefs in the innate inferiority of blacks must be considered separately from the other stereotypes. The I.Q. questions were the only stereotype questions which defined a unique factor according to meaning and not setting. We twice asked whether whites thought black parents were irresponsible towards their families, but each question loaded according to its setting, not its theme. The same thing happened with the several questions we asked about beliefs in black incompetence and shortsightedness, but not with the I.Q. questions.

7. The belief that black workers are clannish and hostile on the job does not fit in with more traditional stereotypes about blacks at work, and can be inferred to measure some new dimension of work stereotypes.

E. *Key Indexes of Racial Attitudes and Beliefs*

In order to make more valid measures to facilitate our discussion of the correlates of racial attitudes and beliefs we have created a number of Likert and Guttman scales out of our list of racial attitudes and beliefs. They are:

1. General Stereotype Index
2. Racial Antipathy Index
3. Traditional Work Stereotype Index
4. Community Stereotype Index
5. Intimate Social Distance Index
6. Conventional Militancy Index
7. Sympathy for Separatism Index

The first two of the above indexes are measures of the respondent's overall perceptions and sentiments about blacks. The General Stereotype Index is composed of three questions which consider the respondent's beliefs about the intellectual ability and moral integrity of blacks compared to whites. The Racial Antipathy Index is comparable to the 'prejudice' or 'social distance' indexes used by other authors. This index includes questions measuring both ethnocentrism and prejudice across a variety of institutional settings. The other five scales are composed of questions about a particular type of racial opinion (stereotype, ethnocentrism, etc.) in a particular type of institutional setting (on the job, in the school, etc.). Indexes were created wherever possible to generate more accurate measures of particular theoretical concepts. Where there were too few questions asked about a particular racial opinion, or where questions could not be indexed for methodological reasons, individual questions were introduced. These questions will be discussed in the section immediately following this one. The component questions, range of correlations of component questions and the marginal distribution for each of the scales are discussed below.

The *General Stereotype Index* is an additive index composed of the following three questions:

A. Black people are not as good at planning ahead and working in terms of long-range goals as whites. (True-False)
B. White people have better sex morals than blacks. (True-False)
C. Black men don't feel as much responsibility toward their families as white men do. (True-False)

The responses to these questions were trichotomized into disagree, neutral and agree and were scored respectively 0, 1, and 2. The matrix of correlation coefficients is given in Table A1 of Appendix A. The resultant index has the following marginal distribution:

General Stereotype Index

Not Stereotyped	= 0	20.2%	22.4	Low
	1	2.2		
	2	17.1	45.6	Moderate
	3	4.4		
	4	24.1		
	5	4.4	32.0	High
Very Stereotyped	= 6	27.6		
		(228)	(228)[6]	

The *Racial Antipathy Index* is composed of the following four questions:

A. Some people say that building trade unions (like carpenters, electricians) give preference to whites over blacks in union memberships and apprenticeships. (Approve or Disapprove)
B. What kind of school would you prefer your children (grandchildren) to attend?
   An all white school or (=2)
   A racially integrated school (=0)
   NO PREFERENCE (=0)
C. Many white people feel that they should have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhood if they want to. (Agree or Disagree)
D. Which of these four policies on race do you think would be best for this country? CHOOSE ONE
   Black people should work to become a completely separate nation, (=2)
   Black people should live in separate neighborhoods from whites, (=2)
   Blacks and whites should live together in the same neighborhoods (=0)
   or
   Blacks and whites should intermarry until there are no longer two separate races. (=0)

[6]In all indexes and scales those respondents who did not answer one of the components questions were not scored on that index.

These questions were trichotomized and scored as in the General Stereotype Index. The racial antipathy index cuts across all three arenas of secondary association and also includes a more philosophical item in question D. It also mixes prescriptive questions B and D with generally proscriptive ones A and C. This was the only index where we encountered any problems with composite question intercorrelation. Question A failed to correlate with C above the .25 level. (See Appendix A, Table A2) But A correlated above this level with the other two variables and was close enough to the .25 level with B to warrant inclusion in the index, especially in light of its substantive meaning. The marginal distribution for the index is:

Racial Antipathy Index

Very low	0	30.2%		
	1	3.8	54.0	Low
	2	20.0		
	3	4.7		
	4	9.7	18.1	Moderate
	5	3.7		
	6	17.2		
	7	6.5	27.9	High
Very high	8	4.2		
		(215)	(215)	

The following three questions comprised the *Traditional Work Stereotype Index*:

A. Black workers are more inclined than white workers to loaf and not do their share of the work. (Agree-Disagree)

B. Black workers are not as careful about doing their jobs right as white workers. (Agree-Disagree)

C. Black workers often don't understand instructions or forget important details. (Agree-Disagree)

We excluded the fourth question in this group about black clannishness and hostility towards whites on the job because it failed to correlate at the .25 level with all of the above three variables. We observed in later stages of our analysis that this variable seemed to define a modern stereotype for whites, and it appealed especially to the younger segments of the population. The intercorrelations of the traditional work stereotype questions are found in Appendix A, Table A3. The marginal distribution of the index is:

Traditional Work Stereotype Index

Not Stereotyped	0	34.6%	39.5	Low
	1	4.9		
	2	15.8	41.7	Moderate
	3	12.3		
	4	13.6		
	5	7.1	18.9	High
Very Stereotyped	6	11.8		
		(228)	(228)	

The *Community Stereotype Index* contained the following questions:

A. When black families move in, property values go down. (Agree-Disagree)
B. When black families move in, violence and crime increase in the neighborhood. (Agree-Disagree)
C. Black families do not take care of their houses and apartments and as a result a neighborhood gets run down after black families move in. (Agree-Disagree)
D. Once blacks start to move in, a neighborhood becomes mostly black in a very short time. (Agree-Disagree)

These questions were once again trichotomized and scored appropriately. The intercorrelations are given in Appendix A, Table A4, and the marginals are given below:

Community Stereotype Index

Not Stereotyped	0	5.8%	14.6	Low
	1	1.3		
	2	7.5		
	3	6.6	30.1	Moderate
	4	14.2		
	5	9.3		
	6	18.1	55.3	High
	7	9.8		
Very Stereotyped	8	27.4		
		(226)	(226)	

The *Intimate Social Distance Index* is a Guttman scale comprised of the following three questions reported in order from most accepted to least accepted:

A. How would you feel about being seen in the company of a black person of the same sex or a black couple? (By this I mean eating in a restaurant or going to a movie with black people.) (Comfortable-Uncomfortable).

B. Have you ever had a close friend who was black? (Yes-No)

C. Suppose you had a 25-year-old son or daughter who announced his or her engagement to a black fiancé. If they seemed to be well-matched in interests and personality, would you

Try to prevent them from getting married,
Advise them not to get married, or
Approve the marriage?

Responses to each of these questions were dichotomized and scored 0 or 1 as follows:

Question A < 0, if felt comfortable or very comfortable with blacks
1, otherwise.

Question B < 0, if ever had a black friend
1, if not.

Question C < 0, if approved of the marriage
1, otherwise.

The following statistics evidence the validity of creating a Guttman scale out of these variables:

Coefficient of Reproducibility = 0.9249
Minimum Marginal Reproducibility = 0.6712
Percent Improvement = 0.2538
Coefficient of Scalability = 0.7717

Below is the marginal distribution of this scale with the meaning of each of its scores:

Intimate Social Distance Index

No distance (0)	12.2%
Disapproves of intermarriage (1)	27.5
Disapproves of intermarriage, no black friend (2)	32.4
Disapproves of intermarriage, no black friend, uncomfortable with blacks (3)	27.9
	(222)

We have only briefly alluded to our last indexes of conventional militancy and sympathy for separatism. Angus Campbell included approval of conventional civil rights activism as one of the main dimensions of racial attitudes along with social distance (operationalized like our racial antipathy index) and perception of discrimination. Not surprisingly, Campbell observed that the higher the support for moderate civil rights activism, the greater the egalitarianism. (Campbell 1971, Chapter 1) Marx, as we mentioned earlier, found sympathy for black nationalism among blacks to be inversely related to civil

rights activism, and that it was a mark of anti-white hostility. (Marx 1967) We have operationalized these concepts here by Likert scales. Component questions were trichotomized and scored as in our previous additive indexes. The component questions are:

Conventional Militancy Index

I am going to list some things black people have done to try to get more rights. For each one, please tell me if you favor it strongly, favor it, oppose it or oppose it strongly:

A. Orderly marches and demonstrations,
B. Campaign work for black candidates for public office,
C. Boycotts of businesses that do not hire blacks.

Sympathy for Separatism Index

A. Businesses located in black neighborhoods should hire mostly black employees. (Agree-Disagree)
B. Schools located in black neighborhoods should have black superintendents and black principals. (Agree-Disagree)
C. Anti-poverty programs—like Model Cities or public housing—which are intended for black neighborhoods should be staffed and run by blacks. (Agree-Disagree)

The marginal distributions for these two indexes are:

Conventional Militancy Index

Low support	0	5.7%	10.1	Low
	1	4.4		
	2	20.6	57.7	Moderate
	3	6.6		
	4	29.8		
	5	9.2	32.9	High
High support	6	23.7		
		(228)	(228)	

Sympathy for Separatism Index

Low sympathy	0	6.6	8.3	Low
	1	1.7		
	2	8.3	32.8	Moderate
	3	3.9		
	4	20.5		
	5	6.6	59.0	High
High sympathy	6	52.4		
		(229)	(229)	

We found the same correlations with our other dependent variables that Campbell and Marx had discovered earlier. The greater the score on the conventional militancy index the lower the score on our measures of racial antagonism and stereotypes. The greater the sympathy for separatism, the greater the expression of prejudice and stereotypes. The two indexes were inversely correlated—that is, the greater the support for conventional civil rights activism, the less the sympathy for separatism.

The social context of race relations

Now that we have isolated and operationalized the core dimensions and sub-dimensions of race relations, our next task is to investigate the different contexts in which racial attitudes and beliefs arise. In this section of our analysis we shall endeavor to determine which types of social and demographic backgrounds are more or less conducive to the formation of positive attitudes towards blacks. We shall also investigate the effects of interracial contact and competition on the attitudes of our respondents. Innumerable research monographs have undertaken this same task. Of these efforts, three are particularly useful as referents for our results. The first is the Bogue and McKinlay analysis of the 1967 Inter-University Consortium survey of Chicago area households. This is the largest and most recent survey of racial attitudes in the Chicago area. Several of the questions on our survey were taken verbatim from the Bogue and McKinlay interview schedule. However, the white sample for this survey was not randomly drawn, which hinders the comparability of their findings with ours. A second valuable reference is Angus Campbell's 1968 SRC survey of whites in fifteen Northern cities. Campbell's survey is the last major survey completely devoted to racial issues. It was commissioned by the Kerner Commission and was the source of many of the Commission's conclusions. Campbell's sample was randomly drawn and was quite large; however, as we have already mentioned, his analysis is not without methodological flaws. A third point of comparison is afforded by the series of NORC surveys which have periodically investigated racial attitudes since 1942. These have been carefully documented by Hyman and Sheatsley in 1956 and 1964, and by Greeley and Sheatsley in 1971. Although the race-related questions asked in these surveys have been few in number, and, although the samples were taken from the national population and not just the urban North, the NORC surveys do allow us to trace changes in attitudes over a long period of time.

The key to the variables we shall investigate is given below:

Key to Dependent Variables

Code	*Description*
IQ	Percent believing blacks have somewhat less or much less inherited capacity for intelligence than whites.

Code	*Description*
General Stereotype	Percent scoring high (5 or 6) on the General Stereotype Index.
Antipathy Index	Percent scoring high (6, 7 or 8) on the Racial Antipathy Index.
Work Stereotype	Percent scoring high (5 or 6) on the Traditional Work Stereotype Index.
Supervisory Discrimination	Percent approving white employers giving supervisory positions to whites even though qualified blacks are available.
Busing	Percent moderately or strongly opposed to busing white children into black neighborhoods to integrate schools
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	Percent agreeing that most black parents do not encourage their children to study as hard as white parents do.
White Teachers for White Schools	Percent who think that white schools should have only white teachers.
Community Stereotype	Percent scoring high (6, 7 or 8) on the Community Stereotype Index.
Object to Blacks Next Door	Percent who would object moderately or strongly if a black family with the same occupation and income moved next door.
Intimate Social Distance	Complete breakdown of scores of the Intimate Social Distance Index.
Conventional Militancy	Percent scoring high (5 or 6) on the Conventional Militancy Index.
Sympathy for Separatism	Percent scoring high (5 or 6) on the Sympathy for Separatism Index.
Demonstration to Keep Blacks Out	Percent approving demonstrations by white residents to try to keep blacks out of white neighborhoods.

To facilitate the interpretation of the tables which follow, the following statistics have been provided:

χ^2 p-value	This is the probability that the distribution of respondents in a table could be the result of some random or chance phenomenon given the marginal distribution of the component variables.
Γ, Gamma	This is an ordinal correlation coefficient or measure of association.
D, Somer's D	This is also an ordinal correlation coefficient or measure of association.

For purposes of evaluating these statistics we offer the following general rules.

The lower the χ^2 p-value, the more "significant" the relationship between the two variables. A χ^2 p-value less than .10 is worthy of note for samples of our size; any p-value less than .05 can be said to be statistically significant. The higher the value of Gamma or Somer's D, the stronger the relationship between the variables. A value of $\pm$ .10 is interesting for Somer's D and Gamma; a value of $\pm$ .20 or more evidences a strong degree of association between two variables. Of these two ordinal correlation coefficients, we prefer Somer's D because Gamma is susceptible to wild fluctuations in tables with empty or almost empty cells. However, Gamma does have the advantage of a more intuitively pleasing interpretation. Gamma is the number of concordant pairs of observations (pairs in the hypothesized direction) divided by the total number of pairs of observations; it is also interpreted as the probability of guessing the correct ordering of pairs of observations on one variable once the order of pairs on the other variable has been established. Most introductory statistics books for social scientists contain more detailed descriptions of these statistics.

A final note: due to the small number of cases in our white sample, the cell frequencies in the following tables have fairly large sampling errors. Thus the measures of overall trend, Gamma and Somer's D, take on greater importance in the interpretation of our tables than they might otherwise. Individual cell frequencies must be viewed skeptically.

Sex. No one has ever come up with an acceptable theory of why men should have substantially different racial attitudes than women, and no empirical studies have ever uncovered massive differences between the sexes. Our survey is no exception. (See Table 10.) Males' and females' responses were significantly different on only two of our measures. Of these only one, white teachers for white schools, can be considered a core sub-dimension of racial attitudes. However, each sex did have its own systematic pattern of response. These were not largely different in magnitude, but they were fairly consistent. Men tended to engage in stereotypes more than women. Women were more prone towards prejudice and ethnocentrism, though this was not as demonstrative a trend as the difference in stereotypes. Women also tended to show a little more intimate social distance towards blacks.

Age and education. Research prior to the late 1960's consistently uncovered a strong linear effect of age on racial attitudes. The older the respondent, the greater his propensity to engage in stereotypes and to endorse proscriptive and prescriptive sentiments. While theorists were never able to develop intelligible justifications for a sex effect on racial attitudes, they were able to devise several for an age effect. One theory holds that the age effect is a by-product of the conflict of generations. This theory hypothesizes that younger persons develop more favorable dispositions towards blacks as an externalization of their alienation from the older, more bigoted generation. Another hypothesis

Table 10. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES BY SEX OF RESPONDENT

	Male	Female	χ^2	r	D
IQ	41.6%	34.9%	NS	-.17288	-.09379
General Stereotype	33.7	29.2	NS	-.19135	-.12247
Antipathy Index	20.8	31.5	NS	.21308	.12655
Work Stereotype	23.4	16.5	NS	-.07410	-.04756
Supervisory Discrimination	5.4	5.4	NS	.16250	.05596
Busing	85.7	86.7	NS	.04888	.01208
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	59.7	60.0	NS	.03177	.01758
White Teachers for White Schools	16.9	7.9	.0994	-.36946	-.08386
Community Stereotype	59.2	53.4	NS	-.05723	-.03333
Object to Blacks Next Door*	34.3	36.5	NS	.04762	.02180
Intimate Social Distance					
Low	15.8	10.3			
1	31.6	25.3	NS	.12917	.09499
2	25.0	36.3			
High	27.6	28.1			
Conventional Militancy	31.2	33.8	NS	.07100	.03965
Sympathy for Separatism	48.7	64.2	.0684	.28834	.16251
Number of Cases*	78	151			

*The number of cases corresponds to the largest possible number of cases. The actual number of cases for each sub-table or column is usually somewhat smaller due to the exclusion of "no answers" from each table. The only glaring divergence from this rule is for cross-tabulations with "Object to Blacks Next Door," where 32 respondents were excluded who already had blacks living on their blocks.

considers the age effect as the reflection of gradual changes in the national culture. As the national culture became more and more positively oriented towards all minority groups, the young, who are less committed to their attitudes and beliefs, were more inclined to adopt these more positive attitudes. A third hypothesis states that at all educational levels, young Americans are more sophisticated than older Americans. Sophistication is presumed to be incompatible with race prejudice. Thus younger people who are more sophisticated have a tendency to be more egalitarian than older people. Then came the 1960's. In 1964, Hyman and Sheatsley observed a higher level of objection to school integration among the youngest age group than among the next youngest age group in the South. The backbone of George Wallace's support in the urban North was found to come from the young to middle-aged. In 1968, Campbell found that while the traditional age effect was still present, it was not as linear nor as large in magnitude as it was in the past. Our findings are very similar to Campbell's, and on some issues reveal the absence of an age effect. (See Table 11.)

While those over sixty-five are consistently the most stereotyped, ethnocentric and prejudiced age group, those under thirty are not always the least. There does appear to be a general trend towards egalitarianism among younger age groups, but this trend is not always strictly linear or very dramatic. For example, the smallest incidence of those believing blacks are inferior in intellectual capacity to whites is found among the under-thirty group, but the next smallest incidence is found among those 38–50, not among the 30–37 age group. The 51–65 age group has the second largest frequency of those believing blacks are inferior in intellect and the second-largest frequency of those scoring high on the work stereotype index, but this age group also has the lowest incidence of those scoring high on the antipathy index and the lowest incidence of those who would object to blacks moving next door. Indeed, if we had only considered those sixty-five and younger, most of our already small measures of association would have been even smaller, and fewer of the age effects could have been termed statistically significant.

In most instances education has been shown to have the largest single direct effect of any independent variable on racial attitudes. The difficulty with the education effect lies in its interpretation. What is there about higher levels of education that appears to create egalitarian sentiments? Indeed, is this effect real? That is, is there something inherent in the educational process that leads to more positive sentiments towards minority groups, or is it simply that greater education teaches one how to respond to survey interviews so as not to appear prejudiced? Does education only serve to increase one's civility, and being more civil does one seek to hide his antagonistic sentiments? The debate about the effects of education on a variety of individual characteristics is still a pressing one for social scientists. In the area of racial attitudes, the most complete evaluation of the effect of education is found in Howard

Table 11. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES BY AGE OF RESPONDENT

	-29	30-37	38-50	51-65	66-	χ^2	r	D
IQ	30.0%	34.9%	31.0%	40.3%	55.1%	NS	.21084	.11209
General Stereotype	24.0	24.4	31.2	33.4	51.7	.0700	.24178	.14515
Antipathy Index	20.4	26.2	32.1	19.3	55.5	.0024	.18560	.11331
Work Stereotype	18.0	17.8	14.3	21.0	24.1	NS	.06888	.04379
Supervisory Discrimination	2.0	4.5	10.6	0.0	14.8	.0023	.32999	.12061
Busing	87.8	79.5	92.7	85.0	88.4	NS	.03777	.00923
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	54.0	73.3	57.1	54.8	64.3	NS	.00833	.00453
White Teachers for White Schools	5.9	4.4	14.9	11.9	23.1	NS	.36059	.07445
Community Stereotype	44.0	52.3	56.1	54.8	79.3	NS	.20622	.12036
Object to Blacks Next Door	31.0	42.5	37.5	27.4	50.0	NS	.02752	.01277
Intimate Social Distance								
Low	21.6	11.1	8.7	13.2	0.0			
1	31.3	31.1	28.3	18.9	25.9			
2	33.3	26.7	43.5	35.8	14.8	.0022	.28440	.20859
High	11.8	31.1	19.6	32.1	59.3			
Conventional Militancy	35.3	40.9	27.7	33.9	22.2	NS	-.13924	-.07780
Sympathy for Separatism	51.0	46.7	70.2	51.2	85.2	.0277	.20474	.11103
Number of Cases	51	45	47	59	27			

Stember's *Education and Attitude Change* (1961). In this volume, Stember compiled the results of all of the major social surveys during the 1940's and 1950's and cross-tabulated racial beliefs and attitudes with education, while controlling for other sociological variables. He concluded:

> In brief, the educated are less likely to: hold traditional stereotypes; favor discriminatory policies; reject casual contacts with minority-group members. The educated are more likely to: hold certain highly-charged and derogatory stereotypes; favor informal discrimination in some areas of behavior; reject intimate contacts with minority-group members. (p. 168)
>
> It would thus appear that the impact of education is limited. Its chief effect is to reduce traditional provincialism—to counteract the notion that members of minorities are strange creatures with exotic ways, and to diminish fear of casual personal contact. But the limits of acceptance are sharply drawn; while legal equality is supported, full social participation is not. (p. 171)

He also projected that in the future, as discrimination becomes more unacceptable, it would probably be more difficult to find an educated person willing to express his prejudices. (p. 180) Our findings about education are somewhat at odds with Stember's, and are similar to our findings about age. It is our opinion that the real effect of education is more substantial than Stember suggests.

In regards to stereotypes, our findings indicate that increasing education has the largest effects on those with less than a college education. For those with high school educations and beyond, the effects of increased schooling on stereotypes are neither very large nor very linear. But contrary to Stember, the highly educated are *not more* likely to hold *any* stereotype, whether it be traditional or highly charged. One of the highly charged stereotypes which Stember found more prevalent among the educated was the belief in black intellectual inferiority. As seen in Table 12, this is not true of our sample. One interesting observation about the stereotype questions is that those with twelve years of education appear somewhat less stereotyped than we had anticipated from prior research. The effect of education is pretty much the same on all of the stereotype questions and indexes, except that the belief that black parents do not encourage their children to study evidences no education effect.

In regards to proscription and prescription, the effect of education is more linear and more dramatic. The largest and most nearly linear effect between any variables discussed so far is found between education and the antipathy index. Our results most seriously challenge Stember's hypotheses in the area of intimate social distance, which we found to decrease quite dramatically with increased education. It is interesting to note that the fewest objections to busing were found among the highly-educated and the poorly-educated,

Table 12. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES BY EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT*

	Grammar School or Less	Some High School	Completed High School	Some College	College Graduate	Graduate School	χ^2	r	g
IQ	50.0%	48.0%	30.2%	39.0%	36.1%	25.0%	NS	-.16314	-.09441
General Stereotype	50.0	44.0	28.2	31.0	22.9	25.0	NS	-.21739	-.13944
Antipathy Index	60.0	43.5	31.1	15.8	14.7	0.0	.0000	-.30573	-.30971
Work Stereotype	26.9	25.0	20.5	21.4	8.3	12.5	NS	-.24275	-.15521
Supervisory Discrimination	11.5	12.5	2.6	9.5	0.0	0.0	.0479	-.38516	-.14038
Busing	83.3	88.0	93.3	97.4	75.0	60.0	.0010	-.28518	-.07209
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	57.7	18.0	60.3	63.4	66.7	53.3	NS	.05043	.02813
White Teachers for White Schools	26.9	16.0	10.3	9.8	2.8	0.0	NS	-.47806	-.09693
Community Stereotype	84.6	75.0	62.3	43.9	30.6	43.8	.0003	-.38787	-.22793
Object to Blacks Next Door	56.5	35.0	31.5	16.2	21.4	8.3	.0008	-.40326	-.21236
Intimate Social Distance									
Low	8.0	0.0	6.8	9.5	22.2	31.3			
1	12.0	30.4	24.3	38.1	30.6	18.8			
2	8.0	34.8	40.5	35.7	33.3	31.3	.0000	-.35939	-.26352
High	72.0	34.8	28.4	16.7	13.9	18.8			
Conventional Militancy	26.9	16.0	27.3	35.7	47.2	62.5	.0064	.31827	.18034
Sympathy for Separatism	69.2	36.0	57.7	66.7	47.2	62.5	NS	-.09704	-.05237
Number of Cases	26	25	78	42	36	16			

*Computed only for those 22 years of age and older.

while those with intermediate levels of schooling expressed the most disapproval of busing. Also interesting is the greatly increased support for black conventional militancy at the higher educational levels and the lack of effect of education on sympathy for black separatism.

In the course of his efforts to disentangle the effects of education and age on racial attitudes, Campbell came to the conclusion that most of the observed age effect was spurious. That is, the finding that younger people expressed more tolerance was not due to the fact that they were younger but was solely due to the fact that they were more educated than their elders. Our data do not fully substantiate Campbell's conclusions; however, they do indicate that education is clearly the stronger of the two predictor variables, and that education explains a good deal of the effect of age on racial attitudes. (Table 13) Education is also found to be more strongly related to stereotypes among the older than the younger generation. For ethnocentrism and prejudice, the effect of education is sometimes larger for the younger cohort and sometimes larger for the older cohort.

A possible explanation for the observed attenuation of the age effect in recent surveys may be traced back to the national culture hypothesis. This hypothesis posited that members of the younger generation in the past were more susceptible to changes in the national culture. Since the national culture was becoming more pro-minority, it stood to reason that the younger generation would become more pro-minority. However, the younger generation about whom this hypothesis was made in the 1940's and 1950's is now approaching middle-age. Thus the pro-minority stance of the national culture no longer can be said to have affected the attitudes and beliefs of the young alone. It has also affected the attitudes of those who were young in the 1930's, 40's and 50's, but who are no longer young today.

Occupation and income. Since they are alternative measures of socioeconomic status and are partially determined by education, family income and occupation have often been observed to be correlated with racial beliefs and attitudes. However, they are usually not as strongly correlated with racial opinions as education. People in white-collar and high prestige occupations are generally more inclined to endorse integration and less inclined to hold negative stereotypes about blacks; members of high-income families are similarly disposed. (Bogue and McKinlay 1967; Greeley and Sheatsley 1971) However, Campbell's survey did not replicate either empirical relationship. Campbell made much of the absence of a relation between occupation type and racial attitudes, since occupation is often used as a measure of interracial competition as well as an indication of socioeconomic status. The relationships that we found between income and occupation and measures of racial antagonism are much more in line with the traditional results than with Campbell's. (Tables 14 and 15 respectively)

Table 13. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES BY AGE AND EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT*

	40 and Under			Over 40		
	Less Than High School	Completed High School	Some College or More	Less Than High School	Completed High School	Some College or More
IQ	35.7% χ^2=NS;	34.2% Γ=-.14345;	28.6% D=-.07658	54.0% χ^2=.0661;	26.4% Γ=-.18014;	41.2% D=-.10820
General Stereotype	28.6 χ^2=NS;	30.8 Γ=-.19911;	18.6 D=-.12708	54.1 χ^2=.0703;	25.6 Γ=-.25568;	34.0 D=-.16327
Antipathy Index	61.5 χ^2=.0010;	30.8 Γ=-.56863;	7.5 D=-.35872	48.6 χ^2=.0056;	31.4 Γ=-.47118;	17.0 D=-.30233
Work Stereotype	21.4 χ^2=NS;	25.6 Γ=-.20153;	16.3 D=-.13097	27.8 χ^2=NS;	15.4 Γ=-.26297;	13.7 D=-.16772
Supervisory Discrimination	14.3 χ^2=.0683;	0.0 Γ=-.37931;	4.8 D=-.11340	11.1 χ^2=NS;	5.1 Γ=-.36044;	4.1 D=-.15535
Busing	78.6 χ^2=.0219;	97.4 Γ=-.36063;	76.2 D=-.10052	88.6 χ^2=NS;	89.2 Γ=-.05941;	87.5 D=-.01263
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	64.3 χ^2=NS;	61.5 Γ=-.02717;	65.1 D=.01416	48.6 χ^2=NS	59.0 Γ=.09278;	61.2 D=.05419
White Teachers for White Schools	14.3 χ^2=.1221;	2.6 Γ=-.53030;	2.3 D=-.04956	24.3 χ^2=.1506;	17.9 Γ=-.39305;	8.0 D=-.11558
Community Stereotype	78.6 χ^2=.0671;	55.3 Γ=-.35672;	37.2 D=-.21676	80.6 χ^2=.0021;	69.2 Γ=-.52686;	40.0 D=-.29686
Object to Blacks Next Door	58.3 χ^2=.0300;	53.0 Γ=-.51440;	19.5 D=-.30281	41.9 χ^2=.0183;	30.0 Γ=-.38990;	14.6 D=-.20758
Intimate Social Distance						
Low	14.3	5.1	20.9	0.0	8.6	15.7
1	21.4	30.8	37.2	20.6	17.1	27.5
2	7.1	46.2	27.9	26.5	34.3	39.2
High	57.1	17.9	14.0	52.9	40.0	17.6
	χ^2=.0035;	Γ=-.36136;	D=-.27080	χ^2=.0170;	Γ=-.40878;	D=-.29454
Conventional Militancy	21.4 χ^2=.1178;	28.9 Γ=.40285;	51.2 D=.22471	21.6 χ^2=NS;	25.6 Γ=.28354;	39.2 D=.16131
Sympathy for Separatism	42.9 χ^2=NS;	53.8 Γ=-.01748;	46.5 D=-.01027	70.3 χ^2=.0777;	61.5 Γ=-.06294;	68.5 D=-.03046
Number of Cases	14	39	43	37	39	51

*Computed only for those 22 years of age and older.

Table 14. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES BY ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME OF RESPONDENT

	0-9,999	10,000-14,999	15,000-19,999	20,000-29,999	30,000+	χ^2	r	D
IQ	36.8%	41.9%	39.6%	27.2%	26.9%	NS	-.16492	-.08607
General Stereotype	47.4	27.3	42.8	13.3	20.0	.0290	-.21349	-.13793
Antipathy Index	44.4	33.4	34.0	14.7	3.8	.0001	-.38334	-.23521
Work Stereotype	18.0	17.8	14.3	21.0	24.1	NS	-.15597	-.09943
Supervisory Discrimination	10.5	1.9	2.0	2.3	4.0	NS	-.31444	-.10105
Busing	83.3	90.7	87.2	86.7	73.9	.0648	-.14219	-.03679
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	52.6	56.4	59.2	65.9	60.0	NS	.10269	.05779
White Teachers for White Schools	23.7	10.9	8.2	6.8	0.0	.0253	-.18525	-.09091
Community Stereotype	78.4	58.2	62.5	46.6	16.0	.0002	-.39247	-.23400
Object to Blacks Next Door	39.3	40.4	52.3	25.6	9.6	.0074	-.26415	-.12324
Intimate Social Distance								
Low	8.3	14.5	4.2	17.8	19.2			
1	27.8	23.6	25.0	33.3	30.8	NS	-.18074	-.13211
2	25.0	30.9	37.5	31.1	38.5			
High	38.9	30.9	33.3	17.8	11.5			
Conventional Militancy	23.7	25.5	29.2	53.3	42.3	.0237	.29682	.16747
Sympathy for Separatism	60.5	65.5	65.3	46.7	46.2	NS	-.18631	-.10246
Number of Cases	38	55	49	45	26			

Table 15. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY OF RESPONDENT*

	Professional-Managerial	Sales-Clerical	Blue Collar	χ^2	Γ	D
IQ	28.9%	31.6%	56.3%	.0896	.31734	.17270
General Stereotype	20.5	28.9	43.8	.0783	.36151	.22696
Antipathy Index	12.2	25.7	38.7	.0098	.48756	.27407
Work Stereotype	13.3	26.3	29.0	NS	.12348	.08078
Supervisory Discrimination	00.0	0.0	6.3	.0300	.50924	.11933
Busing	75.6	97.4	84.4	.0929	.29688	.07833
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	56.8	64.9	50.0	NS	-.10307	-.05735
White Teachers for White Schools	4.4	8.1	21.9	.0413	.55168	.11075
Community Stereotype	42.2	55.3	68.8	NS	.25996	.15689
Object to Blacks Next Door	21.2	30.3	53.8	.0274	.44317	.20713
Intimate Social Distance						
Low	24.4	10.8	12.5			
1	24.4	37.8	21.9	.0477	.24149	.18023
2	35.6	37.8	25.0			
High	15.6	13.5	40.6			
Conventional Militancy	44.4	34.2	18.8	.1023	-.36059	-.21209
Sympathy for Separatism	46.7	52.6	62.5	NS	.20270	.11681
Number of Cases	45	38	32			

*Only computed for those 22 years of age and older and presently employed.

Higher-income respondents were generally more "liberal" in their responses than lower-income respondents, especially on measures of prejudice and ethnocentrism. Specifically, the effect of higher income was quite noticeable on the antipathy index and on community stereotypes. Contrary to the overall trend, belief that black parents do not encourage their children to study actually seemed to increase slightly with income. This effect was previously observed with respect to education. The overall effect of income on racial opinions appears somewhat smaller than that of education.

The clearest effects of an independent variable so far observed stem from occupation. White-collar workers are less stereotyped, prejudiced, and ethnocentric than blue-collar workers, and among the white-collar workers, professionals and managers express more liberalism than sales and clerical workers. Once again, however, we observe the queer inverse relation between the belief that black parents do not encourage their children to study and social class. As was observed with income and education, the greatest objection to busing is found among the members of the middle class. Sales and clerical workers, those with incomes between $10,000 and $20,000 a year, and those who had completed high school and some college scored the highest opposition to busing. The effects of occupation are about as large as those observed for education. These findings are in complete contradiction with those presented by Campbell. Our results do give credence to the competitive theory of race relations, since the greatest antagonism was found among blue-collar followed by sales and clerical occupations, where blacks give whites the stiffest competition for jobs. The black presence in the professions and in managerial positions is still very much on a token basis. In any case, even in today's troubled economy, these occupations are holding their own or expanding in number and in proportion of the total labor force (Fatermayer 1975 and Cameron 1975), thus softening the possible effects of racial competition.

Ethnicity, generation and religion. In recent analyses of race relations, there has been a reawakening of interest in the role played by ethnicity in the formation of racial attitudes. Both Campbell (1971) and Greeley and Sheatsley (1971) noted that Eastern European Christians had less favorable dispositions towards blacks than other European ethnics. Campbell de-emphasized the greater racial animosity of the Eastern Europeans by focusing on the overall similarities in racial attitudes among the other ethnic groups. Greeley and Sheatsley, and later Greeley (1975) in a secondary analysis of Campbell's data, devoted considerable attention to analyzing the roots of Slavic racial antagonism. They account for this antagonism as an outgrowth of the prolonged and at times fierce competition for jobs and housing which Eastern European ethnics have faced from blacks. The largest wave of Slavic immigration to the United States occurred during the last great period of European immigration,

just prior to the migration of blacks from the rural South to the urban North. In the gradual process of assimilation and improvement of their socioeconomic status, this group has always been "just one step ahead" of the blacks. This is especially true of the first and second generation Slavs. With the passage of civil rights legislation over the past three decades this competition has intensified somewhat; hence the higher levels of expressed antagonism towards blacks among Eastern European Christians.

Our sample does not afford us the opportunity to engage in the fine breakdowns of ethnic groups found in Campbell's and Greeley's reports; nevertheless, the general findings of their investigations are replicated. Given our small column frequencies and resulting large sampling error, there is a surprising similarity of response among Western European, Southern European, and mixed, "other" or Jewish ethnics. On almost every issue, Eastern European ethnics express less positive attitudes towards blacks than the members of other ethnic groups. With few exceptions these differences are both large and significant. (See Table 16.) Slavic Christians are especially differentiated from the other ethnics in their opposition to neighborhood integration. Those of Southern European descent are slightly more prone toward negative stereotypes about blacks in the community; however, the incidence of those objecting to blacks moving next door is almost twice as high among Slavs as among any other ethnic group. Interesting to note is the relatively low approval of discrimination against blacks on the job among the Eastern European Americans, as well as an almost uniform objection to busing and uniform acceptance of the belief that black parents do not encourage their children to study across all ethnic groups. Sympathy for separatism and expressions of intimate social distance are highest among Eastern European ethnics, but these findings are not statistically significant. There is also a fairly uniform support for conventional militancy across all ethnic groups.

As mentioned above, the usual explanation for the racial conservatism among Slavic Americans is traced to their position "next up the ladder" (Greeley and Sheatsley 1971, p. 18) from blacks. If this hypothesis is true, we might also expect that first-generation immigrants of all ethnic groups would be less positive towards blacks, since they would be in a more competitively disadvantageous position vis-a-vis blacks than the more assimilated members of their ethnic groups. We would also expect that much of the racial antagonism expressed by Eastern European Christians would disappear upon controlling for the immigrant generation. In Tables 17 and 18 we have tested these two expectations; one is essentially substantiated, the other is not.

Though few of the relationships in Table 17 are statistically significant, there is a general trend that the longer the respondent's family has been in the United States or the more assimilated he or she is, the more positive the respondent's opinions towards blacks. This is especially true of our two summary measures, the general stereotype index and the racial antipathy index.

Table 16. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES BY ETHNICITY OF RESPONDENT*

	West Europe Christian	Jews, Other or Mixed	South Europe Christian	East Europe Christian	χ^{2}**
IQ	34.0%	36.0%	18.8%	50.9%	.0482
General Stereotype	30.1	23.1	25.0	47.2	NS
Antipathy Index	22.2	24.5	28.6	42.7	.0618
Work Stereotype	14.6	17.3	12.5	32.1	.1301
Supervisory Discrimination	3.9	5.8	6.7	6.1	NS
Busing	90.0	73.5	87.5	90.4	.0078
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	59.6	66.7	33.3	60.4	NS
White Teachers for White Schools	9.6	3.8	6.7	20.8	.1389
Community Stereotype	48.1	51.0	73.3	66.0	.0558
Object to Blacks Next Door	23.6	35.0	21.4	63.0	.0001
Intimate Social Distance					
Low	11.9	15.7	21.4	5.8	
1	31.7	23.5	21.4	23.1	NS
2	35.6	33.3	28.6	28.8	
High	20.8	27.5	28.6	42.3	
Conventional Militancy	31.7	37.3	31.3	30.2	NS
Sympathy for Separatism	60.6	51.9	43.8	67.9	NS
Number of Cases	104	52	16	53	

*Respondents were asked "Which of these nationalities do you consider yourself?" If respondent replied that he was descended from a combination of ethnic backgrounds which cut across the four above categories and was not of one particular ethnic stock, he was coded as being of a mixed ethnicity.

**Due to the nominal and polytomous nature of ethnicity, ordinal correlation coefficients have not been reported.

Table 17. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES BY ETHNIC GENERATION OF RESPONDENT

	Foreign Born	Foreign Parentage	Mixed Foreign/ American Parentage	Third Generation American	χ^2	r	D
N	37.5%	12.5%	11.7%	34.4%	NS	-.12247	-.06584
General Stereotype	30.0	40.4	33.3	26.2	NS	-.27911	-.17969
Antipathy Index	55.0	39.6	29.2	20.0	.0082	-.39422	-.25221
Work Stereotype	26.0	23.4	25.0	15.3	NS	-.15168	-.09778
Supervisory Discrimination	8.7	8.7	4.2	3.9	NS	-.31566	-.12296
Busing	87.0	86.4	90.9	86.8	NS	-.03752	-.00865
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	30.0	65.2	36.5	60.3	NS	-.00263	-.00148
White Teachers for White Schools	25.0	17.4	12.5	9.1	NS	-.44141	-.10650
Community Stereotype	79.1	71.8	47.8	47.7	.0012	-.32258	-.18502
Object to Blacks Next Door	45.0	41.1	52.7	30.3	NS	-.23035	-.11131
Intimate Social Distance:							
Low	4.3	4.4	8.7	16.4			
1	26.1	28.9	13.0	29.7			
2	8.7	22.2	65.2	35.2	.0000	-.35097	-.25748
High	60.9	44.4	13.0	18.8		--	
Conventional Militancy	29.2	23.4	29.2	37.7	.0269	.28225	.16256
Sympathy for Separatism	62.5	61.7	58.3	58.0	NS	-.06311	-.03358
Number of Cases	24	47	24	131			

Table 18. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES BY ETHNICITY AND ETHNIC GENERATION OF RESPONDENT

	Mixed Foreign American and Third Generation					Foreign Parentage - Foreign Born				
	Other	East Europe Christian	X^2	Γ	D	Other	East Europe Christian	X^2	Γ	D
IQ	35.0%	38.5%	NS	.06838	.03502	27.9%	63.0%	.0133	.58527	.36951
General Stereotype	25.6	38.5	NS	.18914	.12431	34.9	55.6	NS	.37640	.23084
Antipathy Index	20.5	29.2	NS	.23077	.13627	35.1	56.0	NS	.37068	.24324
Work Stereotype	14.3	30.8	.1096	.18299	.12088	19.0	33.3	NS	.16667	.11111
Supervisory Discrimination	4.0	0.0	NS	-.16406	-.04278	7.1	11.5	NS	.09811	.04762
Busing	86.1	92.3	.1425	.34783	.07062	85.0	88.5	NS	.17073	.04038
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	58.1	61.5	NS	.03499	.03015	61.9	59.3	NS	-.08571	-.04762
White Teachers for White Schools	7.9	3.8	NS	-.10665	-.04853	7.1	37.0	.0054	.76871	.29894
Community Stereotype	47.2	46.2	NS	.09851	.06092	66.7	85.2	.1131	.50661	.20282
Object to Blacks Next Door	27.6	60.9	.0049	.60604	.33251	25.7	65.2	.0066	.68831	.39503
Intimate Social Distance										
Low	15.6	11.5				7.3	0.0			
1	25.4	30.8	NS	.05872	.04224	36.6	19.4	.0954	.44413	.29081
2	41.8	34.6				14.6	23.8			
High	17.2	23.1				41.5	61.5			
Conventional Militancy	35.2	38.5	NS	.09820	.05200	27.9	22.2	.0894	-.32578	-.19811
Sympathy for Separatism	57.9	61.5	NS	.03320	.01801	53.5	74.1	NS	.37031	.19352
Number of Cases	126	26				43	27			

There is also a very strong generational effect on community stereotypes and intimate social distance. On the issue of neighborhood integration, which splits the Eastern European from the other ethnic groups, there is a non-linear effect of generation; third-generation Americans express the least objection, but those of mixed foreign and American parentage are the most likely to object, not the foreign-born. There is no differentiation of response observed in the objection to busing and the belief in school stereotypes. It is also interesting to note the absence of a generational effect on the belief in black intellectual inferiority.

In Table 18, the cross-tabulation of racial views by ethnicity while controlling for generation reveals a complex and systematic interaction between the two independent variables. Among third-generation Americans and those of mixed foreign-American parentage, the previously observed effect of having an Eastern European ethnic background is generally attenuated, and on two issues it is reversed. For those of foreign parentage and those who were raised abroad, the effect of Slavic ethnicity is as large or larger than that found for the sample as a whole. But even among the more assimilated, the effect of Slavic ethnicity is only attenuated, not eliminated. This is evident in the response to neighborhood integration, work stereotypes and general stereotypes. For those of "other" ethnic backgrounds, the effect of generation is generally not very large though it is in the anticipated direction. However, for Eastern European Americans, the generation effect is almost always quite dramatic as well as in the anticipated direction.

The interaction between generation and ethnicity on racial attitudes is harder to interpret than the relationships we have previously encountered. The findings in Table 18 indicate that there is something besides recent immigration and its ensuing increased racial competition which contributes to the heightened racial antagonism observed among Slavic Americans. They speak instead to the existence of sub-cultural beliefs and attitudes which have arisen from the experience of Slavic immigrants as a collective entity. These beliefs have been transmitted in part to later generations, even though they are not as "functional" for them. The observed attenuation in the propensity to endorse such beliefs and attitudes follows the laws of cultural lag. That is, beliefs and attitudes—elements of the non-material culture—react slowly to changes in the material culture. In this instance, the changes in the material culture are the upward movements in social status enjoyed by third generation Slavic ethnics. In any case, it is interesting to note that both the more and less assimilated Slavic Americans are much more antagonistic than their counterparts of other ethnic backgrounds on the issue of neighborhood integration. On the job and in regard to the schools, the more assimilated Eastern Europeans are about as proscriptive and prescriptive as their opposite numbers in the other ethnic groups; however, the first- and second-generation Eastern European ethnics

are much more restrictive on these issues than the first- and second-generation members of other ethnic groups.*

In the realm of religion, Jews, apostates and non-believers are usually found to be more egalitarian than Protestants and Catholics. Whether a survey finds Catholics to be more liberal than Protestants depends a great deal on the nature of the survey's sample. In Campbell's fifteen Northern cities, the racial views of Protestants and Catholics were virtually indistinguishable. In Greeley and Sheatsley's national sample, which included many Southerners who are more likely to be Protestant and also racially conservative, Protestants were somewhat less positive towards blacks. In Bogue and McKinlay's sample of Chicagoans, which contained a large portion of first- and second-generation Slavic Catholics, Catholics were less inclined than Protestants to favor civil rights. These results lead us to propose that the effect of being a Protestant or a Catholic on one's racial views appears to be generally spurious; that is, the observed effects can be attributed to the compounding of Christian religious denominations with other, more salient independent variables. Since all major Christian denominations in Chicago have been quite vocal in their endorsements of civil rights, we would anticipate little effect of religion on racial attitudes based upon contemporary religious teachings alone. This should be especially true in an age when Christian doctrine is becoming more homogeneous and when the saliency of religion is on the wane. In Table 19, we have cross-tabulated racial views by religion. There are really too few Jews and non-believers in our sample to make any definitive statements about their racial attitudes, although the non-believers are consistently the most liberal group. There is a consistent tendency for Catholics to be more conservative than Protestants. However, when we consider that approximately half of the Catholics but few of the Protestants in our sample were of Eastern European descent, this finding becomes suspect. Indeed, when we cross-tabulated racial attitudes by religion excluding Eastern European Americans, there was little difference between the views of Protestants and Catholics.[7] Whatever residual differ-

*Controlling for education produced similar results. The effects of Eastern European ethnicity tended to decline with increased education. However, on several issues the ethnicity effect was not as highly attenuated for those with more than a high school education. The three largest effects of ethnicity among those with more than a high school education were found on the general stereotype index, objection to blacks next door, and feelings of intimate social distance. In short, the ethnic effect could not be explained simply by controlling for socioeconomic status.

[7]In order to save space these tabulations have been excluded from our report. Catholics were still found to score higher on the racial antipathy index. The only significant difference at the $p \leq .05$ level was that Protestants were more likely to believe that black parents do not encourage their children to study. Protestants were also slightly more sympathetic to black separatism and showed a slightly higher degree of intimate social distance.

Table 19. RACIAL ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS BY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE OF RESPONDENT

	Protestant	Catholic	Jew	None	χ^2*
IQ	34.1%	40.0%	45.5%	26.7%	NS
General Stereotype	28.8	37.7	27.3	7.1	.0844
Antipathy Index	16.8	38.6	27.3	13.4	.0032
Work Stereotype	14.6	23.6	18.2	13.4	NS
Supervisory Discrimination	4.5	6.9	9.1	0.0	NS
Busing	90.7	89.4	4/8	60.0	.0009
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	66.7	56.6	80.0	40.0	NS
White Teachers for Whites Schools	10.0	13.2	0.0	6.7	NS
Community Stereotype	49.5	64.7	50.0	33.3	.0626
Object to Blacks Next Door	28.9	42.5	3/8	18.2	NS
Intimate Social Distance					
Low	10.5	10.7	9.1	20.0	
1	30.2	24.3	36.4	33.3	NS
2	34.9	33.0	36.4	26.7	
High	24.4	32.0	18.2	20.0	
Conventional Militancy	28.1	31.1	54.5	53.3	.0234
Sympathy for Separatism	62.2	58.5	63.6	46.7	NS
Number of Cases	90	106	11	15	

*Due to the nominal and polytomous nature of religious preference, ordinal correlation coefficients have not been reported.

ences we observed can be attributed to sampling variation and the effects of other independent variables not associated with religion. Thus the effect of Protestant or Catholic religious persuasion on racial attitudes is a moot question.

What is not a moot question in the sphere of religion is the effect of religiosity on racial views. Given the egalitarian teachings and liberal pronouncements on civil rights made by the various Christian denominations in Chicago, we would expect that respondents more in tune with their faiths would be more liberal in their racial views than their less religious brethren. As seen in Table 20, such an hypothesis is not warranted. For both Protestants and Catholics, the effects of being a churchgoer or non-churchgoer are either minute or, where moderately large, are inconsistent. This is especially true among Catholics. When one considers the traditional importance of weekly attendance at worship for Catholics, this finding takes on even greater significance. There is more diversity in the attitudes of Protestants, but the diversity is without apparent reason. For example, Protestants attending services weekly are more likely to object to having blacks move next door, but they are less likely to engage in community stereotypes or score highly on the racial antipathy index than less religious Protestants. The lack of a religiosity effect when controlling for denomination is not really surprising, since Campbell encountered this same relationship in his research, but it is not a good reflection on the effectiveness of religious leaders in influencing the social consciousness of their flocks.

Residence and migration. Another intriguing question for students of race relations lies in the comparison of the racial views of suburbanites and city dwellers. Given the existence in the past of restrictive covenants and the continued hostility with which black arrivals to suburbia are sometimes met, it has been hypothesized that white suburbanites hold more antagonistic attitudes towards blacks than city residents. There has also been speculation that one of the precipitating factors in the tremendous growth of white suburbia since World War II lies in the desire among whites to decrease their chances of interacting with blacks. Thus whites are "voting" their attitudes with their feet. Campbell investigated this question and found little difference in the attitudes of city dwellers and suburbanites. Our investigations are presented in Tables 21 and 22. Our data for the most part replicate Campbell's. There is no exceptionally large or significant difference between the racial views of suburbanites and city dwellers. What trend there is indicates that suburbanites are a little more liberal than city dwellers. Given the slightly higher socioeconomic status of suburbanites, this trend is not remarkable. There are, however, a few moderately-sized dissimilarities and two relationships which go against the general trend, and these prove quite informative. Suburbanites tend to be more favorable towards blacks on the IQ question, on the two summary mea-

Table 20. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES BY FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT RELIGIOUS SERVICES AND RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE OF RESPONDENT

	Protestant			Catholic		
	Once a Week	Once a Month	Less Than That	Once a Week	Once a Month	Less Than That
IQ	39.4%	27.3%	33.3%	41.0%	42.9%	36.7%
	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.12063;	D=-.05982	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.05374;	D=-.02964
General Stereotype	29.4	30.4	27.3	40.3	28.6	36.7
	χ^2=NS;	Γ=.02345;	D=.01502	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.02390;	D=-.01525
Antipathy Index	13.3	19.0	18.8	35.1	35.7	16.7
	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.03753;	D=-.01901	χ^2=NS;	Γ=.08794;	D=.05704
Work Stereotype	20.6	8.7	12.5	24.2	28.6	20.0
	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.08601;	D=-.05142	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.07933;	D=-.05146
Supervisory Discrimination	2.9	4.5	6.1	8.8	0.0	6.7
	χ^2=NS;	Γ=.08878;	D=.02928	χ^2=NS;	Γ=.01049;	D=.00410
Busing	93.8	87.0	90.3	91.8	92.9	82.8
	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.15741;	D=-.02786	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.30573;	D=-.06339
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	70.6	73.9	57.6	56.5	50.0	60.0
	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.20334	D=-.10064	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.00543;	D=-.00318
White Teachers for White Schools	17.6	8.7	3.0	9.7	21.4	16.7
	χ^2=.1381;	Γ=-.51371;	D=-.10552	χ^2=NS;	Γ=.26700;	D=.06734
Community Stereotype	36.4	52.2	60.6	65.6	57.1	66.7
	χ^2=NS;	Γ=.26904;	D=.16264	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.05160;	D=-.02706
Object to Blacks Next Door	32.1	36.4	19.2	38.6	41.7	52.0
	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.20750	D=-.08664	χ^2=NS;	Γ=.20267;	D=.10087
Intimate Social Distance						
Low	9.1	4.5	16.1	11.9	14.3	6.7
1	33.3	27.3	29.0	22.0	21.4	30.0
2	51.5	27.3	22.6	30.5	35.7	36.7
High	6.1	40.9	32.3	35.6	28.6	26.7
	χ^2=.0292;	Γ=.11680;	D=.08638	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.06808	D=-.04907
Conventional Militancy	18.2	26.1	39.4	32.3	14.3	36.7
	χ^2=NS;	Γ=.35759	D=.17338	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.09260	D=-.05686
Sympathy for Separatism	70.6	60.9	54.5	61.3	42.9	60.0
	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.21255;	D=-.11190	χ^2=NS;	Γ=-.02100;	D=-.01144
Number of Cases	34	23	33	62	14	30

Table 21. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES BY PLACE OF PRESENT RESIDENCE OF RESPONDENT

	Chicago	Suburb of Chicago	χ^2	Γ	D
IQ	41.5%	35.4%	NS	-.08511	-.04491
General Stereotype	39.4	29 0	NS	-.18766	-.12065
Antipathy Index	33.3	25.7	NS	-.08559	-.05138
Work Stereotype	24.2	16.7	.1314	.00793	.00514
Supervisory Discrimination	7.7	4.4	NS	.03790	.01334
Busing	78.7	89.3	.1057	.37856	.10816
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	63.1	58.6	NS	-.04268	-.02327
White Teachers for White Schools	10.6	11.1	NS	.05308	.01057
Community Stereotype	60.9	53.1	NS	-.12236	-.07041
Object to Blacks Next Door	38.6	34.9	NS	-.08025	-.03737
Intimate Social Distance					
Low	16.7	10.3			
1	33.3	25.0			
2	28.8	34.0	NS	.23276	.17143
High	21.2	30.8			
Conventional Militancy	33.8	32.5	NS	.06560	.03775
Sympathy for Separatism	59.1	58.9	.1329	.05290	.02900
Number of Cases	66	163			

Table 22. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES OF RESPONDENT BY MOBILITY WITHIN THE CHICAGO AREA

	Suburb to Suburb	City to City	City to Suburb	χ^2
IQ	33.7%	40.0%	36.8%	NS
General Stereotype	17.4	35.7	42.1	.0058
Antipathy Index	20.7	37.7	31.4	.0624
Work Stereotype	19.8	21.4	14.0	NS
Supervisory Discrimination	3.6	7.3	3.6	NS
Busing	92.9	78.8	82.1	.1262
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	57.5	61.8	62.5	NS
White Teachers for White Schools	3.4	10.7	17.9	.0502
Community Stereotype	43.7	63.0	71.4	.0177
Object to Blacks Next Door	32.5	42.1	40.0	NS
Intimate Social Distance				
Low	7.1	16.1	13.5	
1	25.9	28.6	21.2	NS
2	38.8	30.4	25.0	
High	28.2	25.0	40.4	
Conventional Militancy	32.2	30.9	35.1	NS
Sympathy for Separatism	55.2	58.9	63.2	NS
Number of Cases	87	56	57	

sures, and in regard to the community. On the job, their configuration of responses speak to a general indifference towards blacks. But white suburbanites show a larger amount of intimate social distance towards blacks, and in our most statistically significant result, they express more opposition to busing than white city dwellers. The increased social distance of the suburbanites can be explained partly as a lack of opportunity to interact with blacks, thus lowering the probability of having a black friend or feeling comfortable in the presence of someone from an "alien" culture. Their opposition to busing is more interesting since these are the people who would be most affected by any kind of metropolitan busing program. However, once again these results are not highly significant or terribly large in magnitude.

A more appropriate investigation of the relation between racial views and suburbanization can be generated by breaking down our sample according to their last move. This way we can isolate old suburbanites, whose last move was from one Chicago suburb to another, from true urbanites–from those who have recently migrated to the suburbs. We have done this in Table 22.[8] The results prove more interesting than the more simplistic breakdown in Table 21 and yield more significant differences in racial views. Old suburbanites are the most or at least the second most liberal group on all issues except one–busing. New suburbanites are virtually indistinguishable in their attitudes from the true urbanites; sometimes they respond more liberally, sometimes not. The only large difference between the urbanites and the new suburbanites lies in the higher proportion of new suburbanites who score highly on the intimate social distance index. These results lead to a number of speculations. The similarity in racial views of the new suburbanites to urbanites and their comparative dissimilarity to old suburbanites can be attributed to one or more of the following hypotheses:

1. The new suburbanites are qualitatively different from the old suburbanites and more similar to the urbanites.
2. Something intangible is experienced by living in the suburbs which makes one more liberal on racial issues. The greater opposition to busing among the old suburbanites is then just a statistical artifact, and in any case opposition to busing is so high among all whites as to mark this tendency as trivial.
3. A reduction in manifest but not necessarily latent antagonism is experienced by moving to the suburbs. Migration to suburbia increases the ecological isolation of whites from blacks. In many instances it probably also increases their isolation from blacks on the job. This increased isolation lowers their competition with blacks and thus weakens manifest antagonistic sentiments towards blacks. However, if blacks began mov-

[8]Those who moved from suburb to city were too few in number to report, as were those who moved to the Chicago area from some other location.

ing in great numbers to the suburbs or if busing on a metropolitan scale became a reality then these latent sentiments would soon lose their dormant character, and the observed liberalism of the old suburbanites would disappear. In its pure form this speculation would uncover little difference in the characteristics of new suburbanites and old suburbanites.

While hypothesis three is the most elegant, hypothesis one enjoys the weight of empirical evidence. New suburbanites were discovered to be significantly older, less educated, more likely to be employed in blue-collar occupations, and less assimilated than the old suburbanites. In these respects they were also very similar to the urbanites. It is our considered opinion that the findings of Table 22 can best be interpreted through a combination of hypotheses one and three, although the empirical evidence weighs heavily in favor of one by itself.

Interracial contact. There are two common-sense hypotheses which consider the effects of interracial contact on racial attitudes. The first hypothesis suggests that increased contact results in increased competition and hence exacerbates racial antagonism. The second hypothesis posits that interracial contact increases interracial understanding, which in turn reduces racial antagonism. Past research indicates that the truth lies somewhere in between. In some instances interracial contact decreases racial animosity, in others it increases animosity or does not alter the sentiments of those involved. While it is beyond the scope of this report to wade through the vast amounts of research on the subject, the only types of racial contact which almost always heighten positive sentiments are equal status contacts which have been designed by third parties specifically to increase the positive sentiments of those who come in contact. Needless to say, such circumstances do not characterize most interracial contacts.

Using single-interview sample surveys to evaluate the effects of interracial contacts poses two difficult problems. First, we cannot fully account for or control for all of the relevant circumstances surrounding the contacts. As indicated above, these can be critically important. To further illustrate this problem, let us consider racial contact on the job. Intervening circumstances which might affect the tone of the contact include whether or not white workers and black workers are segregated on the job; whether or not white workers are given more favorable treatment and assigned easier or higher status tasks; whether or not the supervisors and foremen are all white; and whether or not management sponsors "rap sessions" to bring out and assuage racial tensions. The list of intervening circumstances is endless, and similar lists can be made for analyzing racial contacts in other institutional settings. To specify all of these intervening variables was beyond the resources of this investigation, and in any case it is doubtful whether any survey can adequately measure the impact of all these variables.

The second major problem in using sample surveys to measure the effects of racial contact on racial attitudes lies in the self-selectivity involved in interracial contact. The probability of living or working in an integrated setting is not evenly distributed across the white population. Apart from the demographics involved, this is because individuals with liberal attitudes towards blacks will be more favorably disposed towards interracial situations while prejudiced individuals will seek to avoid them, even at great cost to themselves. Thus, when a black family moves into an all-white neighborhood, those with more liberal attitudes will be more likely to stay while those with more antagonistic attitudes towards blacks will be more likely to flee. To put it in more scientific terms, we cannot assume that racial contact is causally prior to racial attitudes. We can only state that racial attitudes are correlated with or go together with interracial contact in various institutional settings. We would also expect that the influence of self-selectivity is greatest in the community and school settings and weakest on the job.

A third and final problem, relevant only to our survey, is that both of our measures of interracial contact imply contact, but they do not gauge the amount of contact. We asked each respondent what percentage of his "department" or people in his "work area" were black, and what proportion of the families on his block were black. Both questions imply interaction between the respondent and his black co-workers or neighbors, but there is probably a wide range in the quantity and quality of this interaction. In some instances there might not even be any interaction between the respondent and his black neighbors and co-workers. For example, this situation might arise when a respondent lives on a block dotted with several large apartment buildings, one of which has a solitary black family.

A cursory glance at Tables 23 and 24 reveals that interracial contact by itself tends not to be very strongly or significantly associated with racial attitudes. Where trends exist, however, they indicate that interracial contact is positively correlated with liberal racial attitudes. The only relation that is very strong in both tables is between the presence of interracial contact and low scores on the intimate social distance index. However, if one considers the items which comprise the intimate social distance index, this finding takes on all the trappings of a tautology. For if one works or lives in close proximity to blacks, it stands to reason that he will have a higher probability of entering into friendship relations with individual blacks or at least feel more comfortable in the presence of blacks than those who do not come into contact with blacks. After all, isn't this what the myth of the good slave owner was all about?

A closer inspection of Table 23 reveals that the greatest tendency to engage in stereotypes and hold prescriptive and proscriptive sentiments towards blacks is found among those who work with relatively few blacks, not among those whose work force is devoid of blacks. The second highest pocket of ra-

Table 23. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES BY PROPORTION BLACK IN RESPONDENT'S DEPARTMENT AT WORK

	Does not Work	No Blacks	0.1 to 10% Black	11-25% Black	26% or more Black	χ^2	Γ	D
IQ	35.8	24.0	62.5	28.6	19.0	.0833	.00175	.00093
General Stereotype	34.8	26.5	40.6	35.7	9.5	NS	-.03081	-.01961
Antipathy Index	32.0	24.5	29.1	7.1	27.1	.0172	-.20999	-.12393
Work Stereotype	16.5	20.0	28.1	21.4	10.0	NS	-.12106	-.07775
Supervisory Discrimination	9.2	2.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	.0445	-.18418	-.15865
Busing	89.0	92.0	81.1	78.6	86.7	.0236	-.29982	-.07932
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	61.5	69.4	35.2	32.9	57.1	.0590	-.17015	-.09640
White Teachers for White Schools	11.0	8.2	18.8	0.0	4.8	NS	-.11978	-.09239
Community Stereotype	58.5	50.0	53.1	57.1	52.3	NS	-.07630	-.04503
Object to Blacks Next Door	38.1	24.4	50.0	2/8	21.4	NS	-.09412	-.04265
Intimate Social Distance								
Low	5.8	14.3	18.8	14.3	28.6			
1	25.2	34.7	21.9	35.7	28.6	NS	-.26140	-.19285
2	33.0	28.6	37.5	35.7	23.8			
High	35.9	22.4	21.9	14.3	19.0			
Conventional Militancy	32.4	32.0	31.3	35.7	42.9	NS	.00826	.00466
Sympathy for Separatism	66.1	52.0	65.6	35.7	38.1	NS	-.22909	-.12805
Number of Cases	109	50	32	14	21			

Table 24. RACIAL BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES BY PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF BLACKS IN RESPONDENT'S NEIGHBORHOOD

	No Blacks on Respondent's Block	Some Blacks on Respondent's Block	χ^2	Γ	D
IQ	36.1%	43.8%	NS	.12007	.06381
General Stereotype	31.6	31.2	NS	-.07118	-.04631
Antipathy Index	27.3	27.6	NS	-.05440	-.03166
Work Stereotype	18.1	25.0	NS	.04843	.03141
Supervisory Discrimination	4.8	6.5	NS	.04739	.01707
Busing	86.5	84.4	NS	-.10417	-.02703
Black Parents Don't Encourage Study	59.1	67.7	NS	.12018	.06301
White Teachers for White Schools	10.9	9.4	NS	-.10572	-.01975
Community Stereotype	57.1	40.6	NS	-.23243	-.14417
Demonstrations to Keep Blacks Out	18.8	25.0	NS	.09953	.04102
Intimate Social Distance					
Low	9.6	28.1			
1	26.7	31.3			
2	33.7	21.9	.0170	-.36546	-.27757
High	29.9	18.8			
Conventional Militancy	34.2	28.1	NS	.00123	.00065
Sympathy for Separatism	59.8	50.0	NS	-.21632	-.12468
Number of Cases	194	32			

cial antipathy is found among the control group, those who are not currently employed. It is interesting to note that those who work with a large number of blacks are very unstereotyped about blacks in general and on the job and show the least objection to busing, but on other issues they are not that different from the others in their racial views.

Table 24 reveals little difference in the attitudes of those who live on the same block with blacks and those who do not. The only significant difference between the two groups is found in their responses to the intimate social distance index, but as mentioned above we consider this relationship somewhat tautological. It is interesting to note, however, that those who live on integrated blocks scored a good deal lower on the community stereotype index even though they were slightly more prone to approve of demonstrations to keep blacks out of white neighborhoods. This relationship indicates that those who are experiencing neighborhood integration first-hand are less likely to hold unfavorable beliefs about the consequences of having blacks in their community, but they are nonetheless more likely to be opposed to this intrusion than those living in more segregated communities.

Summary. Of the many substantively interesting findings discussed above, three stand out from the rest:

1. The effects of the independent variables on racial attitudes and beliefs are typically more diffuse than specific. For example, the effect of increased education is considerable on belief in general stereotypes, scores on the antipathy index, the degree of objection to blacks moving next door and on most of the other race questions. The effect of education is not strictly limited to one or two racial issues. There are of course exceptions, and these have proven to be interesting but hard to interpret. Three of the more general and striking exceptions are:
   (a) The belief that black parents do not encourage their children to study is uniformly distributed across all social, demographic and contextual backgrounds.
   (b) The opposition to busing is a middle-class, middle-aged phenomenon which is particularly strong among those who would be most affected by a metropolitan busing program.
   (c) There is a lingering rejection of neighborhood integration among even the more assimilated and educated Eastern European ethnics.

2. Traditional relationships between demographic, social structural and contextual variables and racial opinions have been generally replicated. One of the more important non-replications is that the effect of education on racial views is not limited to the approval of formalistic interracial contacts and to the reduction of traditional stereotypes and prejudices. The effect of education is also evident on feelings of intimate social distance and on the belief in black intellectual equality. We would have anticipated neither of these relationships on the basis of Stember's empirical generalizations. The effects of income and

occupation on racial views were also found to be large and significant, which is contrary to what Campbell has observed. It is important to note, however, that many of the traditional relationships we replicated are no longer as strong or as linear as they were in the past.

3. Though many of the independent variables considered above were strongly related to racial opinions, none by itself or in combination with other independent variables can account for all of the variation in any given racial belief or attitude. For example, higher education was found to be inversely correlated with racial prejudice; however, this does not mean that those who had gone to graduate school were completely without prejudice, nor does it mean that all of those with less than a grammar school education were racists.

Recent trends in white racial attitudes

The intelligent appraisal of trends in any social phenomenon is a difficult undertaking. This difficulty is heightened when the social phenomena in question are racial attitudes, and the trends are recent. Perhaps the chief problem in the analysis of any social trend is that at some point the researcher is obliged to abandon his data if he is to endow his empirical findings with any substantive meaning. He then enters the ethereal world of macro-sociology. This inevitably leads the researcher into speculations about matters which he cannot fully quantify and in turn into theoretical positions which he can never fully justify. The analysis of social trends is thus as much an art as it is a science. The researcher's dilemma has serious implications for the reader, since the reader must pay strict attention to the researcher's proposals and hypotheses lest he be enticed into accepting a grossly untenable proposition. The analysis of recent trends in racial attitudes poses several other imposing problems for researcher and reader.

First, the instrument on which the trends are based, the sample survey, is prone to measurement errors no matter how meticulously conducted and analyzed. Statistically, errors are generated through the concept of *variance*. Our best estimate of the proportion of the *total population* disposed favorably or unfavorably towards a certain opinion or policy is the proportion of a *random probability sample* of that population so disposed. Because we must deal with at best a *random sample* and *not* the total population, our best estimate is close to, but not exactly equivalent to, the appropriate figure for the total population. Methodologically, the uncertainty surrounding our best estimate is increased by the fact that a completely *random probability sample* of the population of the United States or the city of Chicago is impossible to obtain. Certain shortcuts must be adopted for financial reasons. The more shortcuts taken, the larger the uncertainty in our estimates. This flux is further enlarged by the fact that some members of the sample refuse to participate or for other reasons are not interviewed. Thus, the figures garnered from a sample survey reflect the views of only a sample of a sample of a population.

A third factor which generates errors for the sample survey is the human factor. Questions are sometimes misread or misinterpreted in the interview situation. Interview schedules are sometimes miscoded or keypunched incorrectly in preparation for computer processing. The statistical, methodological and human shortcomings inherent in survey research create and enlarge the imprecision of our estimate of the prevalence of certain opinions in the target population. For national samples with over 1000 respondents, the estimated percentage is correct within approximately 2 to 4 percent depending on the size of the percentage.[9] For the 1975 CFSC survey this range is conservatively at least twice as large.

Secondly, recent trends are often mere short-term aberrations of long-term trends. As temporary fluctuations in a longer historical movement, short-term trends can often be misleading, especially when not viewed in the larger scope of things. The analysis of recent trends has the added disadvantage of lack of hindsight. In analyzing short-term trends of the past, the researcher can step forward into the present to assess their importance. He cannot, of course, reflect on what is happening presently by stepping into the future.

Thirdly, racial attitudes and beliefs do not necessarily have a one-to-one correspondence with behavior, especially in racial situations. The debate over the relation between attitudes and behavior has been intense and persistent since the 1930's. To review in any detail the vast amounts of research on this issue is beyond the scope of this report. Quite briefly, most modern scholars seem to believe that the correlation between behavior and attitudes is mediated by four intervening circumstances:

(a) the quality of the measures of both behavior and attitudes,
(b) the amount of support for the behavior in the individual actor's social milieu,
(c) the saliency of the attitude for the individual actor,
(d) the extent to which the actor's other beliefs and attitudes are congruent with the attitude in question.[10]

Keeping these words of caution in mind, we shall presently embark on a brief discussion of recent national trends in white racial attitudes, after which we shall investigate how the findings of the CFSC survey of 1975 findings fit into these trends. To put the recent trends in perspective let us first review the historical movements in racial attitudes from World War II to 1970.[11]

[9] Reflects approximate 95% confidence interval. Taken from Campbell (1971) Appendices A and B.

[10] A brief and fairly recent summary of the attitude-behavior controversy can be found in Liska (1974).

[11] These trends have been quite thoroughly treated elsewhere, and for a more detailed account we encourage the reader to consult the following sources: Hyman and Sheatsley

From World War II to 1970 there was an unequivocal movement towards greater tolerance of blacks and other minorities among white Americans. To be sure, researchers did discover minor reversals and inconsistencies over this span of time, but the overall trend was quite robust. Even the inconsistencies and fluctuations in these historical trends were over the long run proven to be flukes traceable more to random measurement errors than to anything of substantive significance. It is important to note, however, that since the mid-1960's all of the major national surveys on race relations have been limited to the study of racial *attitudes* and not *beliefs* or *stereotypes.* They have similarly been limited to attitudes about blacks and not about Jews or other minorities. The rationale behind this limited focus arose from a general academic disfavor with the study of stereotypes and the conception among pollsters that attitudes towards Jews and beliefs about black intellectual equality were "dead" issues. That is, the pollsters believed that these issues were no longer controversial. These researchers thought that so few whites entertained belligerent attitudes towards Jews or harbored beliefs in black intellectual inferiority that quantifying the prevalence of such attitudes and beliefs would not have been worthwhile. It is our opinion that such a view is terribly shortsighted, as we have indicated previously.

The causes of this trend toward liberalism are much harder to enumerate than the trends themselves. The roots of this increased tolerance are best viewed as a complex constellation of interacting variables. As we have done previously, we shall focus our analysis primarily on the environmental and social structural factors behind these trends. These factors can be considered under four general topics: prosperity, modernization, social controls, and civil rights activism.

The period between the start of World War II and 1970 was one of ever increasing prosperity and affluence for Americans. It was marred only by minor periods of recession and inflation. This prosperity was somewhat unique in that it was shared by a large proportion of the population. The increased standard of living was translated into a reduction in prejudice through a series of sociological and psychological processes. Not the least important of these processes was that prosperity tended to reduce feelings of intense competition for scarce resources on the part of whites and hence to reduce intolerant sentiments. Prosperity also raised the status of minority-group members, which made integration more desirable for whites.

(1956 and 1964), Greeley and Sheatsley (1971), Bettelheim and Janowitz (1968) and Campbell (1971) to name but a few. Much of the discussion of past trends in racial attitudes has been adapted from Bettelheim and Janowitz (1968) and Simpson and Yinger (1959).

The continued modernization of the United States resulted in the increased urbanization and industrialization of the American population. These in turn have gradually raised the educational level enjoyed by Americans and leveled the population in terms of socioeconomic status through the expansion of white-collar occupations. In a previous section of our analysis we found that both increased education and white-collar occupational status were inversely correlated with antagonistic racial views. The process of industrialization in the United States has also fostered an increased reliance on consensual rather than violent solutions to conflict situations. This general spirit of conciliation associated with the process of American industrialization has extended into the arena of race relations. As blacks became a more integral segment of the American industrial community, their demands for civil rights could no longer be ignored or stifled. Like industrialization, the process of urbanization has had other latent consequences for race relations. Urbanization increased the exposure of the population to divergent lifestyles and ethnic groups. This generated greater sophistication, which is antithetical to traditional forms of race prejudice.

Contemporaneous with and in some ways contingent upon the modernization and prosperity which marked the period between World War II and 1970 was the emergence of social controls which had positive consequences for race relations. Social controls are systems of belief, policies, laws or acts which constrict or guide the behavior of actors in a social system.[12] The manifest or primary functions of the social controls considered below were to induce racial desegregation, to promote social welfare in general, or simply to report the news. Yet all of these social controls had important latent functions which tended to reduce racial prejudice among those subject to these social controls. The latent consequences for racial attitudes of the social controls below have been discussed elsewhere by Lohman and Reitzes (1952), Simpson and Yinger (1959) and Bettelheim and Janowitz (1968). The social controls which have hastened the course of desegregation and attenuated racial antagonism are innumerable. Some of the more important and successful social controls of the pre- and post-World War II period were:

(a) The social welfare programs of the Roosevelt and later administrations. These were responsible for raising the status of minority groups, which once again made desegregation and integration more palatable to white Americans.
(b) Industrial and later craft union endorsements of civil rights.
(c) Civil rights legislation passed by both federal and local governments.

[12] Bettelheim and Janowitz define social control as "the institutionalized patterns regulating and influencing groups as they pursue social values and social goals." (1968, p. 25)

(d) The actions of the executive and the judicial branches of government for civil rights. On the national level these included Truman's order to integrate the armed forces and the Supreme Court's landmark *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision.
(e) The courting of the black vote by major political parties.
(f) The generally favorable reporting of the mass media on civil rights. Even the objective reporting of the mass media on this issue seems to have reduced prejudice, in that the portrayal of the black man by the media was as a human being, not as some sub-human species.

The success of social controls directly aimed at reducing racial inequities during this period appears to have been enhanced by the clear-cut nature of the issues involved. In short, it is very difficult to justify the exclusion of a person from a job, a streetcar, or the neighborhood school because his skin is black.

Finally, the conventional civil rights activism employed by blacks during the 1950's and 1960's appears to have been responsible not only for part of the success of the civil rights movement but also for part of the reduction in white racial animosity. The relentless series of sit-ins, demonstrations, boycotts and acts of civil disobedience throughout the 50's and 60's ceaselessly reminded whites of the inequities endured by blacks. Though whites may not have been enamored with these tactics, the message conveyed was inescapable. Through these acts blacks were able to activate the cycle of the "American Dilemma." That is, they were able to play upon the irreconcilable paradox that the same America that was founded on the principles of freedom and justices for all men had systematically denied these rights to a large portion of its population. Even the most remote and issue-specific demonstration of the 50's and 60's seemed to conjure up visions of hundreds of years of racial injustice in all arenas of social life. This created feelings of dissonance among whites which were at times resolved through the alleviation of racial animosity.

What then has happened since 1970?

In Table 25, we have tabulated the responses to several race-related questions asked of white national samples from 1970 to 1975 by the National Opinion Research Center.[13] The 1970 survey contained the data upon which Greeley and Sheatsley based their *Scientific American* report. The 1972 through 1975 figures are from surveys taken as part of NORC's social change project. A cursory glance at Table 25 reveals that the historical trend towards tolerance among whites persisted between 1970 and 1972. However, between 1972 and 1975 no continuation of this change is evident. White racial attitudes appear to have stabilized, but at a level unacceptable to those antici-

[13] A more detailed report on these recent trends is presently being prepared by Wade Smith of the NORC staff. As an update of the Schwartz (1967) monograph, Smith's report should be most valuable in dissecting the trends discussed here.

Table 25. RESPONSES TO SELECTED RACE-RELATED QUESTIONS ASKED BY THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER OF NATIONAL POPULATIONS FROM 1970 TO 1975

Question	1970	1972	1973	1974	1975
A. Do you think Negroes should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job, or do you think white people should have the first chance at any kind of job?					
As good a chance		95.3%			
White people first		3.1			
Don't know	R[1]	1.1	R[1]	R[1]	R[1]
No answer		0.2			
Number of cases		(1352)			
B.1 Would you yourself have any objection to sending your children to a school where a few of the children are Negroes?					
Yes		7.1		5.1%	6.8%
No		91.8		93.1	91.5
Don't know	R	0.9	R	0.5	1.7
No answer		0.0		1.2	0.1
Number of cases		(1352)		(1311)	(1327)
B.2 . . . Where half of the children are Negroes?					
Yes		23.0		27.8	27.2
No		73.7		67.8	68.7
Don't know	R	2.8	R	2.9	3.6
No answer		0.3		1.4	0.5
Number of cases		(1352)		(1311)	(1327)
B.3 . . . Where more than half of the children are Negroes?					
Yes		52.7		58.9	57.1
No		41.5		34.6	36.9
Don't know	R	4.8	R	4.7	5.1
No answer		0.8		1.6	0.8
Number of cases		(1352)		(1311)	(1327)
C. If your party nominated a Negro for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?					
Yes		69.0		78.0	76.9
No		24.5		18.0	17.1
Don't know	R	6.2	R	3.8	6.0
No answer		0.2		0.2	0.0
Number of cases		(1352)		(1311)	(1327)

[1]The capital R in these tables means that the question was not asked in this particular year or that the wording was altered substantially so as to make the responses incomparable.

Table 25. RESPONSES TO SELECTED RACE-RELATED QUESTIONS ASKED BY THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER OF NATIONAL POPULATIONS FROM 1970 TO 1975 (cont.)

Question	1970	1972	1973	1974	1975
D. If a Negro with the same income and education as you have, moved into your block, would it make any difference to you?					
Yes, would like it		1.2[a]			
Yes, would not like it		13.7			
No difference	R	82.6	R	R	R
Don't know		2.1			
No answer		0.2			
Number of cases		(1352)			
E. Here are some opinions other people have expressed in connection with Negro-white relations. Which statement on the card comes closest to how you yourself feel? The first one is . .					
E.1 Negroes shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted.					
Agree strongly	34.9	41.4	43.5[a]		45.0
Agree slightly	22.4	28.9	29.0		27.4
Disagree slightly	7.5	12.5	14.7	R	14.5
Disagree strongly	8.0	9.9	11.1		10.2
No opinion	7.0	6.5	1.1		2.4
No answer	0.2	0.4	0.6		0.5
Number of cases	(1263)	(1352)	(1321)		(1327)
E.2 White people have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and Negroes should respect that right					
Agree strongly		20.6			
Agree slightly		16.5			
Disagree slightly	R	22.7	R	R	R
Disagree strongly		32.7			
No opinion		7.1			
No answer		0.2			
Number of cases		(1352)			
F. Suppose there is a community-wide vote on the general housing issue. There are two possible laws to vote on. Which law would you vote for?					
One law says that a homeowner can decide for himself who to sell his house to, even if he prefers not to sell to Negroes			62.5		63.6
The second law says that a homeowner cannot refuse to sell to someone because of their race or color			33.9		33.9
Neither	R	R	1.7	R	0.8
Don't know			1.4		1.6
No answer			0.5		0.2
Number of cases			(1321)		(1327)

Table 25. RESPONSES TO SELECTED RACE-RELATED QUESTIONS ASKED BY THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER OF NATIONAL POPULATIONS FROM 1970 TO 1975 (cont.)

Question	1970	1972	1973	1974	1975
G. How strongly would you object if a member of your family wanted to bring a Negro friend home to dinner? Would you object strongly, mildly, or not at all?					
Strongly	16.9%	12.7%	15.2%	10.8%	
Mildly	16.2	15.2	14.8	15.6	
Not at all	62.9	69.4	67.8	71.9	R
Don't know	3.8	2.2	1.6	1.7	
No answer	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.1	
Number of cases	(1263)	(1352)	(1321)	(1311)	
H. During the last few years, has anyone in your family brought a friend who was a Negro home for dinner?					
Yes			19.8	22.4	
No	R	R	79.4	76.7	R
No answer			0.8	0.4	
Number of cases			(1321)	(1311)	
I. Do you think there should be laws against marriages between Negroes and whites?					
Yes	47.5	38.0	36.9	33.7	37.6%
No	47.8	58.8	60.6	63.9	59.8
Don't know	4.3	3.1	1.5	2.2	2.2
No answer	0.4	0.0	0.9	0.2	0.5
Number of cases	(1263)	(1352)	(1371)	(1311)	(1327)

pating a racially liberated society. In Table 25 we find that those who would object to sending their children to a half-black, half-white school actually increased from 1972 to 1975, as did the percent believing blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted. (Table 25, B.2 and E.1) The opposition to open housing legislation remained at a high level. (Tables 25F) The percent who would mildly or strongly object to having a black home for dinner varied strangely between 26 percent and 30 percent although the occurrence of having a black over for dinner did slightly increase. (Tables 25, G and H) The support for laws against miscegenation actually appears to decrease from 1970 through 1974, but in 1975 the figure is back up to its 1972 level. (Table 25I) The only liberal trend that appears unabated during the 1972 to 1975 period is the support for a black presidential candidate, and even here the support is somewhat lower in 1975 than in 1974. (Table 25C)

While we do not believe that this recent stabilization of white racial attitudes constitutes or is the harbinger of a white backlash against blacks, these findings are nonetheless disturbing. The NORC surveys indicate a high level of acceptance of integration and a low level of prejudice and ethnocentrism on very formalistic issues and in institutional settings farthest removed from the individual's personal space, as we previously observed in our discussion of the CFSC Chicago survey. The NORC surveys also reveal a reluctance to endorse integration where whites are in the minority and on issues which may involve economic costs or constrict property rights for whites. Thus we observe that most whites believe that it would be all right if a family member brought a black home for dinner, but in actuality few ever did. School integration is fine as long as whites are not a minority. A small majority of whites disagree with the statement that whites have the right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods, but an overwhelming majority think that blacks should not be too pushy, and only a third favor open housing legislation. Finally, with the growing apathy and indifference to politics as evidenced by small voter turnouts in recent nationwide primary elections, how important is it to find that three-fourths of the white population would vote for a qualified black for president?

The responses to the CFSC Chicago survey of 1975 fit the recent national trends well.[14] It is impossible to judge exactly how well, for a variety of reasons. First, slight variations in question wording have traditionally generated different patterns of response. Three of the questions from the CFSC survey speak quite eloquently of the existence of this phenomenon. The questions presented in Table 6, I, J, and K all focus primarily on the issue of neighborhood integration. They were all highly intercorrelated and fell onto the same

[14]We endeavored to disaggregate the NORC national samples to generate a Chicago SMSA sample without success. There were simply too few cases to pursue any meaningful analysis.

factor in both saturated and more parsimonious factor analytic solutions.[15] Yet the proportion identified as favoring neighborhood integration by each question varies between 48 percent and 64 percent.

Secondly, the national samples included respondents from all regions of the United States, from rural areas and small towns as well as from large cities. To enumerate all of the differences in the socioeconomic, demographic and ecological characteristics between the national population and the population of the city of Chicago is well beyond this report. However, two important sociological characteristics of the Chicago population inversely correlated with racial tolerance and not necessarily found in other areas are the presence of a large, segregated and expanding black population and a large number of first- and second-generation ethnics. The sampling procedures employed by NORC and CFSC were also slightly different, but they should not generate any major divergences.

Keeping all of these caveats in mind, let us compare the responses to the most recent NORC surveys tabulated in Table 25 with those of the CFSC survey tabulated in Table 6. In regards to jobs, there are only a handful of whites in both samples who express a desire to limit the access of blacks to a fair chance at a good job or to promotion, though this handful appears slightly larger in Chicago. (Table 6, O and P versus Table 25A) The picture regarding school integration is more confusing. Almost 40 percent of the CFSC sample preferred all-white to integrated schools. In the most recent NORC sample less than 10 percent said they would object to sending their children to an integrated school; however, this proportion jumped to just under 60 percent when the integrated school was described as more than half black. (Table 6G versus Table 25B) On the issue of neighborhood integration, it is harder to match CFSC questions with comparable NORC ones. Just over 35 percent of the CFSC sample indicated that they would *object* if a black family moved *next door* while only 14 percent of the national sample said that they would *not like it* if a black family moved onto the *same block*. (Table 25D versus Table 6I) At first glance the Chicago sample appears much more intolerant, but on a more similarly worded question the responses are more in line. This more similar question considers the rights of whites to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods. Thirty-seven percent of the 1972 NORC sample thought that whites had this right, as opposed to 45 percent of the Chicago sample. (Table 25E.2 versus Table 6J) Both the national and Chicago samples express a good deal of intimate social distance, but the questions are worded too disparately to warrant any detailed comparison. On the whole, the similarities between the racial views of Chicago area whites and whites nationally outweigh the differences.

[15]The question in Table 6I is not included in the factor analyses presented in Tables 8 or 9 because it was only asked of a portion of the sample. However, it was included in other factor analyses not presented in this paper with the reported results.

How then do we account for the stabilization in white racial attitudes nationally and the continued rather high level of racial animosity nationally and in Chicago? The answers to these questions are once again quite complex and interacting. The sociological factors responsible can be considered under two of the four topics which were marked as contributing to the demise of prejudice in previous decades. There have also been some issue-specific developments of late which have had implications for particular racial questions. The primary factor responsible for the stabilization of white racial attitudes is the state of the economy. The 1972 to 1975 period gave birth to "stagflation," a mixture of recession and inflation unparalleled in American economic history. What is most unique about "stagflation" is its deleterious impact on all strata of society. During the 1960's, allowing blacks to share the fruits of the economic and political systems did not cost whites a great deal. Jobs were plentiful, and at one point the economy actually entered a period of technical over-employment. The housing boom and low interest rates made the dream of a detached single family home in the suburbs a reality. But the "stagflation" of the 70's has changed all that. Unemployment in 1975 was higher than at any time since the Depression. High unemployment rates, recession and affirmative action in minority hiring and promotion do not mix well. The old job becomes more important and valuable. Any threat or possible threat to it bodes poorly for race relations, and during these times threats are more likely to be perceived regardless of whether they have any basis in reality. If the threat is directly attributed to blacks or indirectly attributed to blacks through affirmative action, then racial animosities are bound to be heightened. On the home front, inflation has made the hope of a new single family home little more than a dream. The old neighborhood and the old homestead become as valuable as the old job. Any perceived threats to their security or future value will not be taken lightly. If these threats are attributed to blacks through the process of neighborhood succession, once again race relations will suffer.

Coming as it did at the end of a long period of economic prosperity and at the outset of affirmative action programs, the 1974–1975 recession also generated feelings of relative deprivation among whites. These feelings arose from two sources. First was the failure of actual economic conditions to live up to expectations about those conditions. The other source lies in the perception among many white workers that their social status was not keeping up with the social status of their black co-workers. Even though the *absolute* gap between white family incomes and black family incomes has increased consistently over the past 15 years, the *relative* gap has decreased by about 40 percent. Similarly, in the few rare instances where affirmative action has worked to the detriment of a white person, not only are his racial views likely to be affected but also the views of his cohorts. Relative deprivation has been hypothesized to be related to a variety of social pathologies. Pettigrew (1971)

has hypothesized that relative deprivation was an important source of pro-Wallace support in the urban North.

A second source of the presently unfavorable state of race relations is the breakdown in social controls designed to implement contemporary goals in race relations. Two social controls which have seemingly generated more racial animosity than they have cured are busing and affirmative action. Part of the reason for the breakdowns in these two social controls lies in the juxtaposing of socially acceptable and even desirable goals with socially unacceptable means of attaining these goals. The goals of achieving integration on the job and providing equal educational opportunity are fairly clear-cut, unambiguous and relatively popular. However, the methods of busing and affirmative action to realize these goals are considerably more controversial. Philosophically, there are two sides to both policies. Affirmative action seeks to make up for past discrimination against blacks in hiring and promotions by essentially discriminating against whites in the present. It was hoped that busing to achieve integration would raise the quality of education enjoyed by black students, but in the process it necessarily destroys the neighborhood school and all that the neighborhood school implies.

Complicating the philosophical question is the fact that neither quota hiring nor busing is at all popular among whites. While many policies developed to directly implement integration in the past did not enjoy overwhelming popularity, they all appeared to have a substantial core of support among whites which counterbalanced the opposition. Even back in 1942, 30 percent of whites surveyed by NORC approved of school integration, 35 percent did not express objections to the thought of blacks moving onto their blocks, and 44 percent approved of the integration of public transportation. By the time of the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision about half the white population favored integrated schools and about the same proportion approved the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision itself. The 15 percent who favored quota hiring and the 7 to 14 percent who favored any sort of school busing program on the 1975 CFSC survey pale in comparison with these earlier figures. As indicated earlier, not all of this objection to quota hiring and busing is of a philosophical nature. A good deal of it can be traced to fear of race and class integration or to fears of potential loss of socioeconomic status or lowered probabilities of promotion.

Perhaps the most important reason for the failures of busing and affirmative action to ameliorate race relations and part of the reason for the unpopularity and controversial nature of these social controls lies in the uninspired efforts of the executive and legislative branches of the federal government to make them work. The federal courts have made their stands on these two issues quite clear and have been unswerving in their support of both busing and affirmative action programs to achieve integration.[16] While the executive and legislative branches of the federal government were responsible in the past for

the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and 1964, for the integration of the armed forces, and for the enforcement of court ordered desegregation plans, their support for busing and affirmative action programs has not been overwhelming. While federal marshals escorted James Meredith and other black students as they integrated the public universities of the Deep South, they are noticeably absent on the school buses in Boston and Louisville. In the 1976 Presidential primaries, it was difficult to find any of the presidential candidates of either party with anything positive to say about busing. Only Congressman Morris Udall among the major candidates gave his support to busing, and even his support was couched in terms of "regrettable but necessary." According to those who influence public opinion busing is at best a necessary evil, and is nowhere presented as a possible good.

Other social controls have exhibited latent functions which have had negative impacts on race relations. For example, the welfare system in its early days made integration more acceptable to whites. However, in 1975, a large number of whites have serious reservations about the structure of today's welfare system. When these reservations are coupled with the inaccurate yet widespread belief that the majority of the benefits of these unpopular welfare policies are enjoyed by blacks, the impact on racial attitudes is obvious. This impact is heightened with every revelation of welfare fraud perpetrated by individuals who happen to be black. Judith Mayo will consider in more detail the relation between attitudes about race and welfare in the following article. In a similar vein, the labor unions which championed civil rights for blacks in the period from the 1930's to the 1960's vary from being somewhat cool to vehemently opposed to quota hiring and affirmative action programs.

[16] As this manuscript goes to the printer, the position of the Supreme Court on busing appears to be becoming more ambiguous and much less supportive. In both Pasadena and Chattanooga, efforts to achieve integrated school systems by local school boards had only resulted in the resegregation of the local schools through "white flight" and other forms of population movement. In reviewing the status of desegregation in both school systems, the Court ruled that the school boards had done enough and allowed these *de facto* segregated school systems to stand as is. On the heels of the Detroit compromise, where the courts and the local city government agreed not to institute a massive busing program for fear of upsetting an already precarious racial balance, the federal courts can no longer be termed the champion of busing. It is ironic that the Supreme Court's Pasadena and Chattanooga decisions preceeded by just a few days the latest Harris survey release (July 8, 1976) which reported that while whites were still overwhelmingly opposed to busing, they appear to be in the process of accommodating themselves to it. Harris found that a plurality of whites agreed that "the courts have made a decision. therefore busing is the law and should be followed." A plurality of whites also agreed that "busing will give students a chance to get to know other students with different backgrounds and experiences" and "for the welfare of the community it is important that it not be racially separated." On other issues, Harris found whites more cool on busing and busing's effects.

The most intriguing issue-specific cause for the decline in liberalism on a *particular* question concerns the belief in black intellectual equality. The long-term trend in this belief was investigated in the introduction to this paper. Briefly, it was found that by 1963 almost 80 percent of the white national population believed that blacks had the same innate intellectual abilities as whites. Since 1963, two surveys have shown a decrease in the incidence of this belief. Seventy-one percent of Pettigrew's 1968 Gary sample and less than 60 percent of the 1975 CFSC sample thought that blacks had the same innate intellectual powers as whites. The problem in analyzing this trend is that even though it is fairly long-term, the data points which evidence this decrease are taken from very small, local—not national—samples. However, these surveys contain the best information we have on the issue, since this question has not been asked nationally since 1963. While part of the comparatively low level of acceptance of black intellectual equality in 1975 can be traced to the general effects of the state of the economy and the breakdowns in contemporary social controls, most of the decline must be attributed to the writings of Jensen, Shockley and Ingle. These social and natural scientists have hypothesized that intelligence is inherited and that blacks have not inherited the genes to solve abstract problems to the extent that whites have. The controversy generated in the past ten years by these authors has been voluminous and tumultuous. While the bulk of scholarly opinion is firmly opposed to their theories, the amount of publicity in the media and the sheer volume of scientific arguments initiated by their writings seem to have rekindled doubts and confirmed deep-seated suspicions among whites on what was considered a dead issue in 1963. The ability of these prestigious scientists to shift public opinion in spite of all the scientific evidence against their theories on such an highly derogatory stereotype is remarkable. It speaks to the precarious nature of white racial opinions on the whole. It gives credence to the hypothesis proposed by many social scientists that there is a hard core of liberals at one end and a hard core of conservatives at the other end of the race relations spectrum and an extremely large group of about 60 percent of the white population who fall somewhere in between. While most of this 60 percent appear to have moved to the liberal side since World War II, their loyalties to racial liberalism appear not to be as strong as we would like to believe.

Projections for the future

What the future holds for race relations in Chicago and in the country is an impossible question to answer with any accuracy. Sociologists are known for their *inability* to read crystal balls correctly, and this author is no exception. Nonetheless, as this volume goes to press, the economy appears to be on the upswing, which bodes well for race relations in the short run. Whether the economy can continue to grow at its historic pace in the face of the depletion of natural resources worldwide is a question for economists and natural scien-

tists to consider. In terms of social controls we are less optimistic even in the short run. Whether the legislative and executive branches of the federal government continue to follow their inept and incoherent approach to contemporary racial policies or whether they decide to take more positive actions remains to be seen. It is this author's opinion that if busing, affirmative action and the newest court-ordered social control, suburban public housing, were resolutely implemented by the federal government and if the federal government emphasized the constructive aspects of these policies instead of their negative aspects, we might witness a short period of racial tension, but in the long run these actions should reduce racial animosity just as other social controls have done in the past. While black militancy has been and will probably continue to be effective on specific issues for specific black populations, it seems to have lost the diffuse character it had in the beginning of the civil rights struggle. Similarly, most of the positive effects of modernization seem to be played out. In the future, each gain attributed to increased modernization will probably be offset by some latent negative consequence of modernization such as downward social mobility. A great deal of the future of race relations in the United States rests on countering the patterns of residential segregation which characterize most of urban America. While we do not envision the America of the future as a melting pot, the artificial constrictions on the black population in residential housing must be relieved in order to make any significant further progress in race relations on the macro-sociological level.

APPENDIX

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN COMPONENT QUESTIONS OF MAJOR INDEXES*

Table A1. CORRELATIONS OF GENERAL STEREOTYPE INDEX

		B	C
		Γ = .55668	.60740
A		D = .34069	.37922
		r = .36148	.39183
			.61758
B^3		–	.39725
			.41068

Table A2. CORRELATIONS OF RACIAL ANTIPATHY INDEX

		B	C	D
		Γ = .50875	.38237	.48782
A		D = .25394	.21399	.25640
		r = .26662	.24284	.25808
			.72614	.72124
B		–	.46704	.44443
			.52827	.42797
				.60786
C		–	–	.42244
				.44136

D = Somer's symmetric D; r = Pearson's zero-order correlation coefficient.
*Labels for variables are taken from the text.

Table A3. CORRELATIONS OF WORK STEREOTYPE INDEX

		B	C
		Γ = .75546	.59713
A		D = .55388	.41675
		r = .58077	.43450
			.59308
B		-	.42513
			.43286

Table A4. CORRELATIONS OF COMMUNITY STEREOTYPE INDEX

		B	C	D
		Γ = .49522	.61673	.63389
A		D = .32286	.40118	.40641
		r = .33765	.44184	.41998
			.43582	.42923
B		-	.30781	.26703
			.33851	.28153
				.48744
C		-	-	.30616
				.33114

Table A5. CORRELATIONS OF CONVENTIONAL MILITANCY INDEX

		B	C
		Γ = .45500	.41581
A		D = .30429	.30864
		r = .35724	.35522
			.43737
B		–	.28828
			.31368

Table A6. CORRELATIONS OF SYMPATHY FOR SEPARATISM INDEX

		B	C
		Γ = .53030	.44765
A		D = .38401	.31948
		r = .38807	.33296
			.72116
B		–	.56057
			.57661

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Chapter Two

IMAGES OF THE POOR: ATTITUDES TOWARD RACE AND WELFARE

Judith Mayo

Two subgroups (not mutually exclusive) of the U.S. population seem particularly subject to stereotyping: (1) blacks and (2) the poor, especially the welfare poor. Through the years numerous studies have attested to the persistent importance of stereotyping of blacks as a social and psychological phenomenon. Ranging from Gordon Allport's early work, *The Nature of Prejudice*,[1] which disentangles the processes of stereotyping and prejudice, to the most recent surveys of white beliefs about blacks, such studies leave no doubt that blacks in America are frequently stereotyped and that race prejudice is an important theme in American history and culture. The literature exploring the nature of stereotypes of welfare recipients is neither as prominent nor as extensive as that on stereotyping and prejudice toward blacks, but nonetheless amply illustrates the popular stereotypes of the poor. The twin images of the deserving and the undeserving poor discussed, for example, by Handler and Hollingsworth[2] form the basis for positive and negative stereotypes of the poor–as either handicapped, helpless, brave, struggling and therefore "deserving," or as lazy, shirking, indolent, immoral and therefore "undeserving" (of community emotional and financial support). The history of welfare in the United States may be viewed as a struggle between these two images of the poor and the attendant policy goals of either providing succor and relief from personal and financial distress or trying to rid welfare rolls of the undeserving, the lazy, the "cheaters."

[1]Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1954).

[2]Joel F. Handler and Ellen Jane Hollingsworth, *The Deserving Poor: A Study of Welfare Administration* (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1971).

Because it is composed of unemployed, unmarried mothers rather than the elderly or handicapped, the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program is particularly subject to such vicissitudes of policy, as recipients alternately are defined as deserving or undeserving. For this reason, the AFDC program is an interesting focus for the study of attitudes toward welfare programs. AFDC is also of interest for another reason, however. As Handler and Hollingsworth argue,[3] one of the sources of the growing controversy surrounding AFDC in recent years has been the changing composition of the AFDC rolls. Rather than primarily serving white widows as was envisioned at the inception of the program during the New Deal era, AFDC now serves mainly separated or unmarried women, with an increasing proportion of blacks. To argue, as do Handler and Hollingsworth, that opposition to AFDC has grown as the rolls have become increasingly black implies that racial attitudes are related to attitudes toward welfare recipients. In hopes of disentangling some of the connections between attitudes toward race and attitudes toward welfare, this paper will explore relationships among three main variables: (1) racial prejudice and stereotyping, (2) beliefs about the racial composition of the AFDC rolls, and (3) attitudes toward welfare programs (specifically AFDC) and welfare recipients. The main hypothesis to explore is that racial prejudice and stereotyping leads to opposition to welfare and to punitive attitudes toward welfare recipients. Views of the composition of the welfare rolls are expected to function as an intervening variable; i.e., prejudiced individuals are more likely to view the welfare rolls as primarily black and also to oppose welfare programs because they are viewed as primarily serving blacks. It should be noted that this hypothesis in no way implies that all opponents of the AFDC program are prejudiced; rather, the relationship is exclusively in the other direction–prejudiced individuals are expected to oppose AFDC as a consequence of their anti-black attitudes. Both prejudiced and unprejudiced individuals may oppose the controversial AFDC program for a number of other reasons.

The data

Data for this analysis are the results of a survey of 299 representative residents of the Chicago metropolitan area conducted by the Community and Family Study Center at the University of Chicago in 1975. A stratified cluster sample design was used, based on data from the 1970 census. The study design is presented in detail by George Surgeon in Chapter One.

Racial differences in attitudes toward welfare

Before viewing the relationship between attitudes toward race and attitudes toward the AFDC welfare program, it is important to look at the difference

[3]Handler and Hollingsworth, p. 143.

in attitudes toward welfare expressed by whites as opposed to blacks. Such a discussion will provide a context for later exploration of the correlation between racial and welfare attitudes. Questions were included to cover three main subject areas: (1) attitudes toward welfare programs, (2) attitudes toward welfare recipients, and (3) beliefs about the composition of the welfare rolls. Some striking differences between blacks and whites emerged.

As Table 1 indicates, blacks generally were more favorably disposed toward welfare programs than were whites. Three findings are important in Table 1: (1) blacks consistently are more "pro-welfare" than whites; (2) AFDC is notably less popular than the Job Corps or Model Cities programs; and (3) there is considerable general support for welfare programs, even AFDC, as shown by the very small proportion who feel AFDC should be discontinued and not replaced and the large proportions favoring the Job Corps and Model Cities.

A series of questions regarding attitudes toward welfare recipients themselves and willingness to support policy measures punitive toward recipients revealed the configuration of attitudes in Table 2. As Table 2 shows clearly, blacks are more liberal toward recipients. They are more likely to perceive the welfare system as unfair to recipients, to feel that recipients deserve payments, and to favor liberal measures like increasing payments, while they are less likely to favor punitive measures like excluding unwed mothers or those who do not want to work from the rolls.

An interesting sidelight, which relates to some findings reported below, pertains to attitudes toward work and welfare. Blacks are just as likely as whites to feel that most women on AFDC could work if they wanted to, and considerably *less* likely than whites to be aware that some AFDC recipients do in fact work. In short, blacks are at least as likely as whites to hold the view that AFDC recipients could be working if they wanted to. Yet blacks do not feel, as do whites, that this fact is justification for work requirements as part of the AFDC program. Even though they feel that the recipients could work if they wanted to work, blacks do not feel that punitive measures should be taken against non-working recipients. Thus there is a common perception of the work potential of welfare recipients which is shared by blacks and whites, but which leads to differing conclusions with respect to welfare policy.

The most striking differences between blacks and whites concern their beliefs about the composition of the welfare rolls. In particular, blacks and whites are diametrically opposed concerning who benefits most from welfare programs, with each racial group feeling that the other group is the main beneficiary (see Table 3). Similarly, blacks are less likely than whites to see AFDC welfare rolls or the poor population in general as composed primarily of blacks.

It is clear from the preceding that opposition to welfare and welfare recipients is primarily a white phenomenon. Because of this—and because prejudice

Table 1. ATTITUDES TOWARD WELFARE PROGRAMS BY RACE

Question	Whites	Blacks	
1. Most AFDC families are getting about as much income from welfare as the average worker earns nowadays.	26	16	Mostly agree
	52	63	Mostly disagree
	21	21	Don't know
	99	100	Total
2. Payment levels in the AFDC program should be increased.	29	70	Mostly agree
	52	11	Mostly disagree
	19	19	Don't know
	100	100	Total
3. The AFDC program should be discontinued altogether and not replaced.	5	1	Mostly agree
	86	94	Mostly disagree
	9	4	Don't know
	99	99	Total
4. How do you feel about having money from taxes spent to provide income for women in the AFDC program?	45	67	Approve
	41	10	Disapprove
	14	23	Neutral
	100	100	Total
5. The government also spends money on programs to train young people who drop out of high school or who do not have any work skills (Job Corps). Do you	84	90	Approve
	13	4	Disapprove
	4	6	Neutral
	101	100	Total
6. How do you feel about the government spending your tax money on programs like Model Cities which are designed to rebuild poor urban neighborhoods? Do you	64	76	Approve
	26	6	Disapprove
	10	18	Neutral
	100	100	Total

Table 2. ATTITUDES TOWARD RECIPIENTS BY RACE

Question	Whites	Blacks	
1. Most of the women on AFDC deserve to be getting welfare payments	37	61	Mostly agree
	43	21	Mostly disagree
	20	17	Don't know or no answer
	100	99	Total
2. The AFDC program is unfair to the poor people it is supposed to be helping.	37	51	Mostly agree
	36	20	Mostly disagree
	27	29	Don't know or no answer
	100	100	
3. Most women on AFDC could work if they wanted to, but they would rather just get welfare payments.	49	44	Mostly agree
	35	33	Mostly disagree
	16	22	Don't know or no answer
	100	99	Total
4. Some of the women on AFDC have full or part-time jobs.	65	34	True
	11	13	False
	24	53	Don't know
	100	100	Total
5. Payment levels should be reduced to encourage AFDC women to work.	45	26	Agree
	40	56	Disagree
	15	17	No difference
	100	99	Total
6. Women who are able to work but are not working should be excluded from the AFDC program.	67	47	Agree
	23	21	Disagree
	10	31	No difference
	100	100	Total
7. Free day care should be available so that AFDC mothers could work.	93	76	Agree
	3	0	Disagree
	4	24	No difference
	100	100	Total
8. Women who have illegitimate children should be excluded from getting payments in the program.	36	4	Agree
	47	74	Disagree
	17	21	No difference
	100	99	Total

Table 3. BELIEFS ABOUT THE COMPOSITION OF WELFARE ROLLS BY RACE

Question	Whites	Blacks	
1. Who do you think generally gets most of the benefits from government welfare programs?	68	4	Blacks
	16	61	Whites
	17	34	Don't know
	101	99	Total
2. Do you think the majority of poor people in the United States are	45	16	Black
	28	53	White
	27	31	Don't know
	100	100	Total
3. At least three-fourths of the women on AFDC are black.	52	14	True
	22	60	False
	25	25	Don't know
	99	99	Total
4. More than one-half of the women on AFDC have never been married.	33	19	True
	29	33	False
	38	49	Don't know
	100	101	Total

against blacks is presumably much more common among whites than blacks—the subsequent analysis attempting to link race prejudice with opposition to AFDC will focus on the white respondents, excluding black respondents from the discussion and data presentation.

Racial attitudes and attitudes toward welfare

In a study of 300 whites and 300 blacks in Baltimore, David J. Kallen and Dorothy Miller found that being anti-black was strongly related to negative attitudes toward welfare.[4] In general, the findings from the Chicago sample bear out this relationship between attitudes toward blacks and attitudes toward welfare.

In Chapter 1, seven additive indices of different aspects of racial attitudes were developed—prescriptive/proscriptive, general stereotype, traditional work stereotype, community stereotype, intimate social distance, sympathy for conventional militancy, and sympathy for black separatism indices. When these seven indices were cross-tabulated with responses to questions regarding attitudes toward welfare, toward welfare recipients and toward the composition of the welfare rolls, a strong pattern of significant responses emerged. Taking a Chi-square level where $p = .05$, gamma = .30 and Somer's D = .15 as minimum acceptable levels of statistical significance,[5] the traditional work stereotype index shows the strongest and most consistent relationship to welfare attitudes of the seven indices. As Table 4 indicates, seven of nine welfare variables are significantly related to the traditional work stereotype index. The seven variables include two measures of beliefs about the composition of the welfare rolls, three variables measuring attitudes toward recipients and two measuring attitudes toward welfare in general.

Individuals who tend to have stereotyped views of the work habits of blacks, believing that blacks do not work as hard as whites, have difficulty following instructions properly and generally do not have high motivation to work, also tend to feel that black recipients dominate the welfare programs—i.e., they agree with the statements that three-fourths of the women on AFDC are black and that blacks get most of the benefits (payments, food stamps, training, etc.) from welfare programs. Individuals with stereotyped attitudes toward blacks as workers also are more likely than others to favor punitive policies toward welfare recipients, such as decreasing AFDC payments to en-

[4]David J. Kallen and Dorothy Miller, "Public Attitudes toward Welfare," *Social Work*, No. 3 (July, 1971), pp. 83-90.

[5]Chi-square is used as a statistical test of independence. Because it varies directly with the number of cases in a table, two ordinal measures of association, Gamma and Somer's D, are included in the statistical discussion to give an indication of the association between two variables.

Table 4. MEASURES OF INDEPENDENCE AND ASSOCIATION FOR RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDICES OF RACIAL ATTITUDES AND VARIABLES OF WELFARE ATTITUDES

Prescriptive/ Proscriptive	General Stereotype	Traditional Work Stereotype	Community Stereotype	Intimate Social Distance	Sympathy for Conventional Militancy	Sympathy for Black Separatism
AFDC women deserve payments	p=.025 V=.18340 r=.15963 D=.10	p=.000 V=.256 r=.306 D=.201	p=.0001 V=.25342 r=.26136 D=.17338	p=.0001 V=.223 r=.30971 D=.240*	p=.0002 V=.24078 r=.250 D=.16965	p=.5861 V=.10104 r=.11983 D=.077
AFDC women can work but don't	p=.005 V=.237 r=.246 D=.154	p=.0893 V=.155 r=.289 D=.183	p=.0002 V=.242 r=.309 D=.193*	p=.0001 V=.251 r=.321 D=.207*	p=.0872 V=.1308 r=.071 D=.044	p=.0013 V=.234 r=.3278 D=.212*	p=.3654 V=.1027 r=-.1838 D=-.1144
Payments should be decreased for women	p=.0333 V=.1778 r=-.2305 D=-.212*	p=.0208 V=.1814 r=-.323 D=-.203*	p=.0001 V=.2488 r=-.442 D=-.280*	p=.1930 V=.1383 r=-.192 D=-.120	P=.1300 V=.1442 r=-.237 D=-.147	p=.0024 V=.095 r=-.088 D=-.054	p=.2026 V=.2026 r=-.4287 D=-.1111
Non-working women should get no money	p=.0151 V=.2099 r=-.3096 D=-.2124	p=.4772 V=.12879 r=-.1423 D=-.10	p=.2131 V=.13368 r=-.1808 D=-.089	p=.1372 V=.163 r=-.234 D=-.123	p=.0161 V=.0861 r=-.2783 D=-.142	p=.004 V=.222 r=.180 D=.25*	p=.114 V=.168 r=-.077 D=-.039
3/4 of women on AFDC are black	p=.1935 V=.1189 r=.208 D=-.124	p=.0926 V=.23221 r=-.2071 D=-.162	p=.0003 V=.21439 r=-.3815 D=-.2014*	p=.4031 V=.1876 r=-.308 D=-.1983*	p=.0484 V=.1698 r=-.160 D=.10	p=.1410 V=.1231 r=.248 D=.154	p=.6209 V=.0758 r=-.036 D=-.022
Race of people who get most welfare	p=.0067 V=.18327 r=.3746 D=-.171*	p=.1128 V=.1301 r=-.1925 D=-.0912	p=.0013 V=.2014 r=-.4625 D=-.25*	p=.0239 V=.1602 r=-.335 D=-.189*	p=.113 V=.1955 r=-.041 D=-.020	p=.2451 V=.1109 r=.1732 D=.9	p=.5858 V=.080 r=-.004 D=-.002
Own tax money spent for AFDC	p=.0467 V=.18377 r=.394 D=.29*	p=.0718 V=.1781 r=.291 D=.207	p=.0053 V=.252 r=-.4118 D=-.301*	p=.0012 V=.2393 r=-.3863 D=-.278*	p=.0437 V=.180 r=-.2373 D=-.17	p=.0003 V=.2547 r=-.4163 D=-.298*	p=.3220 V=.1424 r=-.219 D=-.156
Own tax money spent for Job Corps	p=.0003 V=.262 r=.378 D=.238*	p=.0051 V=.219 r=.168 D=.10	p=.1876 V=.1571 r=-.2344 D=-.14	p=.1481 V=.1634 r=-.255 D=-.151	p=.6905 V=.11718 r=-.1342 D=-.0807	p=.0085 V=.2122 r=-.369 D=-.22*	p=.5960 V=.1188 r=-.138 D=-.093
Unmarried mothers deserve no money	p=.258 V=.131 p=.0[illegible] V=.237 r=-.253 D=-.168	p=.0101 V=.1924 r=-.2938 D=-.188*	p=.117 V=.1505 r=-.213 D=-.134	p=.0009 V=.2082 r=-.249 D=-.158	p=.0339 V=.17335 r=.2489 D=.16	p=.1558 V=.143 r=-.187 D=-.117	

*p < .05 Gamma ≥ .30 Somer's D ≥ .15

courage welfare mothers to work and excluding mothers of illegitimate children from the AFDC rolls. Finally, holding stereotyped views of black work habits is related to the more generalized anti-welfare attitudes represented by the feeling that most of the women on AFDC do not deserve to be getting welfare payments and resentment toward spending tax money for the AFDC program. Clearly, stereotyped views of black work behavior are strongly related to several manifestations of negative attitudes toward welfare and welfare recipients.

The index of general racial prejudice (the prescriptive/proscriptive index) also showed linkage to aspects of attitudes toward welfare, though it was not as consistently significant as the work stereotype index. Race prejudice related to four issues of welfare policy. Prejudiced individuals are more likely than others to oppose spending tax money on both the AFDC and the Job Corps programs; similarly, they are more likely to favor punitive measures toward non-working recipients, i.e., to feel that payments should be decreased to encourage recipients to work and to feel that women who can work, but don't, should be excluded from the program. In addition, one of the questions regarding beliefs about the composition of the welfare rolls showed a significant relationship to the prejudice index: prejudiced individuals tend to feel that blacks get most of the benefits from federal welfare programs.

Two other indices of the seven bore some relationship to selected welfare variables. Community stereotyping—the tendency to feel that property values will go down and the neighborhood will deteriorate if blacks move into a white area—was significantly linked to the beliefs that three-fourths of the women on AFDC are black and that blacks get most of the benefits from welfare programs. Community stereotyping also leads to opposition to spending tax money on the AFDC program and to the belief that most AFDC women could work if they wanted to, but prefer instead to receive welfare payments.

Not surprisingly, the index of sympathy for conventional militancy related strongly to two measures of pro-welfare attitudes. Whites who were sympathetic to conventional black militancy also tended to favor spending tax money for both AFDC and the Job Corps. A second area of strong relationships with the conventional militancy index concerned punitive measures toward non-working recipients. A positive attitude toward conventional militancy was linked to opposition to excluding non-working women from the AFDC rolls and to disagreement with the statement that most women on AFDC can work but prefer not to work.

As Table 4 indicates, the remaining three indices—general stereotypes, intimate social distance and sympathy for black separatism—are not significantly related to welfare variables. The main conclusion to be drawn from analysis of Table 4, which represents a sort of zero order correlation matrix, is that only certain aspects of racial attitudes are related to attitudes toward welfare, welfare recipients and the composition of the welfare rolls. Stereotypes re-

lated to work bear the strongest, most consistent relationship, indicating a link between work and welfare in the minds of the white respondents. Only individuals who hold stereotypes of the *work habits* of blacks show the strong tendency to have negative attitudes toward welfare which the central hypothesis of this paper would predict. Generalized prejudice showed a weaker trend, followed by community stereotypes and militancy. Several dimensions of race attitudes–general stereotypes, social distance, support for separatism–showed essentially no relationship at all with attitudes toward welfare. Preliminary analysis of uncontrolled relationships thus lends some support to the central hypothesis of this paper in that racial stereotyping and prejudice lead to both the belief that the welfare rolls are predominantly black and to opposition to welfare. However, the relationship does not hold for all aspects of racial attitudes, so the hypothesis has gone through a process of specification.

Beliefs about the composition of welfare rolls as an intervening variable

The hypothesis that aspects of racial attitudes, particularly the tendency to hold stereotypical views of the work habits of blacks, are related to opposition to the AFDC welfare program and to negative views about welfare recipients was supported, as shown in the previous section. However, the second part of the central hypothesis, the argument that beliefs about the composition of welfare rolls function as an intervening variable in this relationship, gave weak, inconclusive or negative results. Combining the two highly correlated items ($p < .001$; gamma = .69; Somer's D = .40), "three-fourths of the women on AFDC are black" and "who gets most of the benefits from welfare programs–blacks or whites," an additive index of beliefs about the composition of welfare rolls was created. When this index of beliefs about the composition of welfare rolls was introduced as a control variable into the relationship between the traditional work stereotype index and the several measures of attitudes toward welfare, the results were mixed, as shown in Table 5.

The hypothesis of the paper would predict that individuals who believe that the welfare rolls are predominantly black would be more likely to exhibit the strong relationship between anti-welfare attitudes and the traditional stereotype index than would individuals who see welfare as a program which serves primarily whites. There is some slight tendency in this direction, with those who most consistently see the welfare rolls as black (those with 0 scores on the racial composition index) displaying stronger relationships between the traditional work stereotype index and the welfare attitude items. This is evidenced by the large values of gamma (.49 to .78) and Somer's D (.31 to .57) statistics for individuals with 0 scores on the racial composition index, as compared with the lower values of gamma and D for individuals with higher scores on the racial composition index. Although the pattern is not consistent across all five categories of the racial composition index, it is weakly indicated.

Table 5. CORRELATIONS OF TRADITIONAL WORK STEREOTYPE INDEX WITH ATTITUDES TOWARD WELFARE FOR DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF BELIEF ABOUT THE COMPOSITION OF WELFARE ROLLS

	Black 0	1	2	3	White 4
Tax money spent for AFDC	p=.04 V=.57 r=.78 D=.57	p=.32 V=.65 r=.23 D=.14	p=.175 V=.435 r=.26 D=.17	p=.008 V=.50 r=.56 D=.42	p=.59 V=.23 r=.14 D=.07
Payments should be decreased for work	p=.89 V=.16 r=1.0 D=.38	p=.22 V=.723 r=.52 D=.35	p=.362 V=.426 r=.409 D=.26	p=.32 V=.38 r=.29 D=.18	p=.013 V=.36 r=.37 D=.19
Women with illegitimate children should get no payments	p=.02 V=.67 r=.61 D=.31	p=.34 V=.64 r=.38 D=.26	p=.01 V=.56 r=.32 D=.23	p=.64 V=.32 r=.32 D=.22	p=.63 V=.22 r=.27 D=.12
AFDC women can work but don't	p=.72 V=.29 r=.61 D=.31	p=.15 V=.74 r=.38 D=.26	p=.14 V=.46 r=.32 D=.23	p=.16 V=.41 r=.32 D=.22	p=.14 V=.29 r=.27 D=.12
AFDC women deserve payments	p=.35 V=.39 r=.65 D=.40	p=.54 V=.56 r=-.04 D=-.02	p=.09 V=.48 r=.27 D=.19	p=.44 V=.34 r=.26 D=.18	p=.11 V=.30 r=.12 D=.07

A second approach to testing whether or not beliefs about the composition of the welfare rolls functions as an intervening variable might be path analysis. A path model for the relationship between work stereotypes and opposition to AFDC, with views of the composition of the welfare rolls as an intervening variable, would provide support for the central hypothesis of the study. Path analysis uses simple and multiple regression to provide a causal ordering of variables and an indication of the explanatory power of variables—provided by the "beta weights" or regression coefficients. Attempts to relate the three variables in the central hypothesis in the appropriate path model produced the low path coefficients shown in Figure 1.

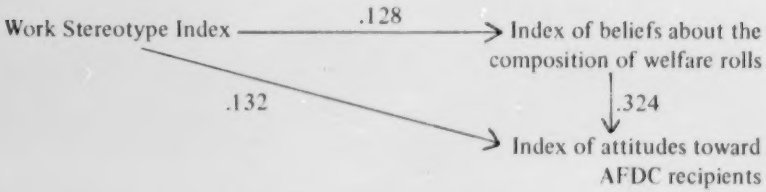

Figure 1. PATH COEFFICIENTS FOR THREE-VARIABLE MODEL OF ATTITUDES TOWARD RACE AND WELFARE

In addition to the work stereotype index described in Chapter One and the index of beliefs about the composition of welfare programs described above, the path model includes an index of attitudes toward welfare recipients. This index was constructed from responses to three statements: "Most of the women on AFDC deserve to be getting welfare payments"; "Most women on AFDC could work if they wanted to, but they would rather just get welfare payments"; and "Payment levels should be reduced to encourage AFDC women to work." These three responses were combined in a simple additive index.

In sum, path analysis does not provide support for the contention that holding stereotypes about the work behavior of blacks leads to attitudes toward AFDC recipients for individuals who believe that welfare programs primarily serve blacks.

Summary

Exploration of the relationships among race, attitudes toward blacks, beliefs about the racial composition of the welfare rolls and anti-AFDC attitudes produced several main findings:

1. Blacks and whites differ considerably in their attitudes toward welfare, with blacks significantly more "pro-welfare" in outlook and less in favor of punitive or restrictive measures toward recipients. Particularly striking

was the belief of blacks that whites get most of the benefits from welfare as contrasted with the belief of whites that blacks get most of the benefits.

2. Certain aspects of racial attitudes are related to opposition to welfare. In particular, having stereotyped attitudes about the work behavior of blacks leads to negative attitudes toward welfare programs (particularly AFDC) and recipients, and to the view that most recipients are black.
3. The argument that beliefs about the composition of the welfare rolls functions as an intervening variable in the relationship between attitudes toward race and attitudes toward AFDC was not supported by the data. Although certain aspects of racial attitudes were linked to beliefs about the composition of welfare rolls, beliefs about composition were not linked to opposition to AFDC.

Chapter Three

BLACK OPINION ABOUT RACE RELATIONS IN CHICAGO

Donald J. Bogue

Black opinion about race reflects the willingness or unwillingness of blacks to accept (ability or inability to reject) the subordinate status they currently occupy. It also reflects their approval or disapproval of alternative policies or actions which they might undertake in an effort to improve their status.

White opinion about race relations reflects, of course, the willingness or unwillingness of whites to abandon race as a criterion in affixing social status to persons and in determining who engages in social interaction with whom.

The time has passed when the opinions—a shorthand term for beliefs, attitudes and intentions—of the black minority can be largely dismissed in predicting what will happen in the future of race relations. The will of the black minority is now a much more coherent, focused and mobilized force than ever before. The massive metropolitanization of the black population, accompanied as it has been by almost complete spatial segregation, has brought the black citizenry into a milieu in which its members can freely communicate their feelings to each other, discuss their common problems, and develop a collective stance on issues. Moreover, their very segregation becomes a temporary asset, allowing them greater impact upon the opinions and behavior of the majority. This arises from the fact that rising educational and occupational attainment of blacks is providing a greater number of candidates for leadership at all levels; residential segregation provides these potential leaders with opportunities to lead. Because they are a critical mass, blacks now are able to present their viewpoints in legislative debates at national, state and local levels; in the commercial and economic life of the community; in educational and social service activities; and in judicial decisions. This trend is far from having attained its climax; in fact it has only achieved a comparatively small part of its potential force in the life of the American democratic process, and will become

more potent as the years pass. It is time for whites to learn what that opinion is, and to appreciate its significance. It is also time for blacks to learn what constitutes the sum of their individual opinions, for this sum is very different from the positions taken by some black leaders.

Knowledge of the range of beliefs, attitudes and intentions which the black minority has concerning its status and its relationships with the white majority can provide invaluable insights into the nature and the content of the dialogue which the two races are holding with each other, or are prepared to hold. A similar set of statements could be made concerning the opinions of the white population, with respect to their willingness to modify their definitions of the racial situation.

It is useful, therefore, to specify a set of topics which deal with the most critical aspects of race relations, to ascertain what the distribution of opinions of the minority (black) population is toward each of these topics, and to compare these distributions of opinion with those held by the majority concerning the same topics. This essay undertakes to perform this task, using data for Chicago.

The source of information for this analysis is the CFSC survey of 1975, described by Surgeon in Chapter One. In order to study changes in attitudes, supplementary information from an earlier study in 1967 by the Interuniversity Social Research Committee is introduced. The total sample for the 1975 survey was drawn from the city of Chicago. It was drawn by a probability process which gave all black residents of the city the same chance of being included in the sample. The number of black respondents is small–only 70. However, they come proportionately from every social class or stratum. These data are of limited value for studying internal variation *within* the black population, but for contrasting the overall opinions of the black with the white population they are of sufficient size to be useful, if used judiciously and not overgeneralized.[1] It will be assumed that the conventional tests of statistical significance are valid in this context, and that white versus nonwhite differentials in opinion are testable by the procedures. (Differences which are not statistically significant will not be deemed interpretable, even though the magnitude of the difference may be great.)

[1]The black respondents were drawn in a systematic fashion from all census tracts which were predominantly black, arrayed in order of per capita income. This assured that representatives would be taken from each socioeconomic stratum in proportion to its size. The data for blacks were drawn from 11 different census tracts, scattered throughout the inner city, with an average of 6.6 respondents per tract. In comparison with the entire city, it appears that the high-rise public housing type of community is somewhat underrepresented, but that the overall composition of the black sample is roughly identical to that of the Chicago metropolitan area black population.

This essay is written to test the proposition that race relations in the United States are undergoing a fundamental change. Rather than attacking the results of this study with pre-formulated hypotheses (derived from status quo theories which may be obsolescent), the mode of analysis here will be to present the empirical results first—and then attempt to induce a general overview from the pattern of specific findings. The sequence of analysis will be to study race relations, from the black viewpoint, in the following specific contexts:

(a) Work
(b) Residence
(c) School
(d) Activities to attain racial equality
(e) Black nationalism
(f) Social interaction between the races

Most of the statistical tables which accompany this report are exceptionally simple and easy to read and comprehend. The various questions which were asked are quoted and the distribution of responses given by black and white respondents are reported. In order to conserve space, the questions which pertain to a particular subject are grouped together in a single table, with each question being a separate "panel" of the table. In the analysis which follows, it will be assumed that the reader will refer to the appropriate panel of the table cited, in order to examine the data that are provided to support the claims made in the text.

Note. Because the sample of black respondents is small, care has been taken in interpreting these tables to stay within the bounds of sampling error. The conventional Chi-squared test of significance (χ^2) is used, and its implied probability of the occurrence by chance alone of the patterns of statistics which are actually found is reported. The following conventions are used:

When p is less than .001 ..... very significant
When p is .05 to .0011 ..... significant
When p is .10 to .051 ..... quasi-significant
When p is greater than .10 ..... not significant

The data concerning significance are reported in a separate column.

Work and race in Chicago

Reflecting the occupational status of the races, nearly 70 percent of the black respondents were blue-collar workers (craftsmen, operatives, laborers, service or household workers), whereas about 70 percent of employed white respondents were white-collar workers (professionals, proprietors, clerical or sales workers). Active dissatisfaction with their jobs is quite low among both racial groups, but blacks are much less enthusiastic about their jobs than whites (see panel A of Table 1). About 30 percent of blacks have a completely neutral position of "neither like nor dislike" their employment.

That there is a substantial amount of work segregation is evident from

Table 1. BLACK AND WHITE DIFFERENCES IN OPINION WITH RESPECT TO RACIAL ASPECTS OF WORK

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. How satisfied are you with your current job? Are you	100	100	
Very satisfied	29	51	χ^2 =31.7
Satisfied	36	39	d.f.=3
Neutral	32	2	p=0.0001
Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied	3	8	very significant
Number of cases	(31)	(117)	
B. What proportion of the people who work in the same department (work area) you do are white (black)?	100	100	
None	13	42	χ^2 =21.4
1-10 percent	32	27	d.f.=5
11-25 percent	13	12	p=0.0007
26-50 percent	19	15	very
Over 50 percent	23	2	significant
Don't know	0	2	
Number of cases	(31)	(118)	
C. Do you prefer to work at a place where the people that you work with are	100	100	
All black (white)	0	6	χ^2 =15.2
Some black, some white, or . . .	45	14	d.f.=3
Doesn't it matter?	55	79	p=0.0017
Don't know	0	1	significant
Number of cases	(31)	(118)	
D. How important is the race of your co-workers to you? Is it	100	100	
Very important	21	22	χ^2 =1.448
Moderately important	29	13	d.f.=2
Slightly important?	50	65	p=0.4847
Number of cases	(14)	(23)	not significant
E. Do you prefer a supervisor who is	100	100	
White or	10		
Black?	3		
Doesn't matter	87		
Number of cases	(31)		
F. Suppose you got a new supervisor or boss who was a black qualified for the job. Would you		100	
Dislike it very much		1	
Dislike it somewhat		9	
Wouldn't it matter		90	
Number of cases		(117)	

panel B of Table 1. More than one-half of all employed blacks worked in integrated organizations where they would have reasonably frequent contact with white co-workers, but white workers were much more insulated from contact with black workers. Although work desegregation has proceeded much farther than residential desegregation, it still is far from complete.*

A most important finding to be drawn from Table 1 is that both black and white workers manifest an active *preference for integration* at the workplace or *lack of concern* if it occurs (panels C and D, Table 1). Even the race of the immediate supervisor is regarded as something which "doesn't matter" to nearly nine out of every ten respondents, of either race (panels E and F). These data are verbal responses made in an interview, not actual behavior at the workplace. That they probably represent real attitudes to some extent is indicated by the rather strong statements which these same respondents gave to other items of the interview (see later sections).

If the giant corporations and other employers of Chicago are indeed fighting full racial integration of the work force, as is often asserted, *this would seem to be as much or more a policy of management than reflection of the wishes of the workers.* If the statistics of Table 1 can be trusted, about 90 percent of both black and white workers accept integration at the workplace and are ready to accept its consequences. Workers who are prepared to carry racial hostility into the workplace appear to be a tiny minority–less than 5 percent of either race.

Table 2 presents information about the opinions which the employed respondents held concerning racial discrimination in hiring, promotion and pay. Surprisingly, for these times of huge unemployment, more than 60 percent of employed blacks reported that people in their particular line or work were having no difficulty in finding employment (panel A) and an even higher proportion claimed that they were having no difficulties in getting promotions or pay increases (panel C). Among the few who believed there are difficulties in getting employment or advancement, preference given to whites was cited as one major cause (panel B), but by no means the only one. The proportion of whites who reported they were having difficulties in finding employment or getting promotions and raises was as high or higher than among blacks. *But whites were even less prone than blacks to attribute their difficulties to race* (panels B and D).

Nearly one-half of both blacks and whites believed that at the places where they work applicants have an equal chance of employment irrespective of race (panel E). More than one-half of blacks believed that a white person would get preference, whereas a substantial proportion of whites believed that a black

*Several items in this research consist of asking members of both races the same question, but with the racial referent appropriate for the race of the respondent. Panel B is an example of such a question. The words in parantheses contain the referents for white respondents.

Table 2. BLACK AND WHITE DIFFERENCES IN OPINION ABOUT DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT, PROMOTION AND REMUNERATION

Questions	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. Are blacks (whites) in your line of work having any trouble getting jobs right now?	100	100	
Yes	39	40	χ^2 =2.4
No	61	53	d.f.=2
Don't know	0	7	p=.2951
Number of cases	(31)	(117)	not significant
B. How much of the trouble is caused by whites (blacks) getting preference in hiring for these jobs? (Asked only if responded "yes" in panel A):	100	100	
A lot of it	50	2	χ^2 =23.9
Some of it	25	13	d.f.=3
A little of it	0	13	p=0.0001
None of it	25	72	very
Number of cases	(12)	(45)	significant
C. Are blacks (whites) in your line of work having any trouble getting promotions or pay raises right now?	100	100	
Yes	32	38	χ^2 =1.4
No	68	59	d.f.=2
Don't know	0	3	p=0.5070
Number of cases	(31)	(117)	not significant
D. How much of the trouble is caused by whites (blacks) getting preference in pay raises or promotions? (Asked only if responded "yes" to panel C):	100	100	
A lot of it	30	2	χ^2 =19.8
Some of it	30	4	d.f.=4
A little of it	0	7	p=0.0005
None of it?	30	85	very
Don't know	10	2	significant
Number of cases	(10)	(45)	

Table 2. BLACK AND WHITE DIFFERENCES IN OPINION ABOUT DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT, PROMOTION AND REMUNERATION (cont.)

Questions	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
E. If a black man and a white man--both equally qualified--applied for a job that was open at the place where you work, who would have the better chance of getting hired?	100	100	
The white man or	52	24	χ^2 =13.2
The black man?	3	21	d.f.=3
Both would have an equal chance .	45	48	p=0.0042
Don't know	0	7	significant
Number of cases	(31)	(115)	
F. Do you think that you ever did <u>not</u> get a job you applied for just because you are black (white) and they wanted to hire a white (black)?	100	100	
Yes	29	3	χ^2 =72.9
No	47	92	d.f.=2
Maybe, unsure	24	5	p=0.0001
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	very significant
G. Do you think that you were ever passed over for a raise or promotion because you are black (white)--because the employer wanted to promote a white (black) person instead of a black (white)?	100	100	
Yes	27	1	χ^2 =93.0
No	47	95	d.f.=2
Maybe, unsure	26	4	p=0.0001
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	very significant

person would get preference (an equal proportion of whites conceded that a white person would get preference). When asked directly whether they had ever been denied a job or a promotion because of race (panels F and G), less than 30 percent of blacks replied in the affirmative, and nearly one-half declared that this had not happened to them (about one-fourth were not sure).

These responses imply that there is comparatively little evidence, at the verbal level, that either black or white workers are attributing their employment difficulties to discriminatory treatment or competition from the other race. A substantial minority of black workers believed that discrimination on the job still exists; while a preponderance of white workers seemed to continue to believe that their employers are practicing little reverse discrimination in favor of black workers. If these data are valid, it might be concluded that national legislation against discrimination in employment, and the changes in hiring policies that many sectors of the economy have adopted, have led to an opinion, both among black and white workers, that skill and ability are now the main factors in getting hired or promoted and that race is a much smaller handicap or advantage than previously. At least some discrimination in employment still exists, according to about one-half of all employed blacks.

Some beliefs about the hiring practices of major corporations and labor unions are listed in Table 3. The black respondents overwhelmingly stated that they believed that both the large corporations and selected labor unions have hiring and promotion policies that are discriminatory with respect to blacks (panels A and C). White respondents, when asked to react to these policies, *overwhelmingly disapproved of them* or else stated they did not know the facts of the case (panels B and D). Less than 10 percent of the white respondents reported their approval of policies favoring whites at the expense of blacks. Even if whites made these responses because of the fear that they would be considered to be "bigoted" by the interviewer, the fact that they felt these constraints is itself an indication of how the climate has changed.

Not only did black workers believe that these discriminating policies exist, but they favored strong and direct action to correct them. More than 80 percent approved of the imposition of some system of quotas to force employers and unions to admit blacks (panel E). More than one-half of the black respondents "*strongly*" favored such a policy, which indicates it is an important immediate goal to them. White workers rejected the quota proposal but were somewhat less vehement in their anti-quota attitudes than were the black workers in their pro-quota opinions. Panel E of Table 3 therefore indicates a point of major racial confrontation. It should be noted that the question of this panel refers to skilled or upper-level positions—not to the current positions occupied by most of the black respondents.

Interpersonal on-the-job relations between blacks and whites are not all harmonious and amicable. Racial tensions and hostilities seem to be just below

Table 3. BELIEFS ABOUT HIRING PRACTICES OF MAJOR CORPORATIONS

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. BLACK RESPONDENTS: Some people say that building trade unions (like carpenters, electricians) give preference to whites over blacks in union memberships and apprenticeships. How important do you think this is in keeping blacks from getting ahead economically?	100		
Very important	67		
Important	30		
Unimportant or	1		
Very unimportant?	1		
Don't know	1		
Number of cases	(70)		
B. WHITE RESPONDENTS: Some people say that building trade unions (like carpenters, electricians) give preference to whites over blacks in union memberships and apprenticeships. Do you		100	
Approve or		8	
Disapprove of this policy?		74	
Don't know		18	
Number of cases		(223)	
C. BLACK RESPONDENTS: Some people say that white employers in Chicago have a policy of giving their supervisory positions (such as shop foreman or office manager) to whites, even though qualified blacks are available. How important do you think this is in keeping blacks from getting ahead economically?	100		
Very important	71		
Important	26		
Unimportant	3		
Very unimportant?	0		
Number of cases	(70)		

Table 3. BELIEFS ABOUT HIRING PRACTICES OF MAJOR CORPORATIONS (cont.)

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
D. WHITE RESPONDENTS: Some people say that white employers in Chicago have a policy of giving their supervisory positions (such as shop foreman or office manager) to whites, even though qualified blacks are available. Do you		100	
Approve or		5	
Disapprove of this policy?		79	
Don't know		16	
Number of cases		(223)	
E. Some companies hire very few blacks in important jobs. Certain black leaders think that these companies should be given a quota of black workers that must be employed in good jobs. Do you	100	100	
Strongly favor	57	1	χ^2=161.4
Favor	29	14	d.f.=4
Neutral	7	14	p<0.0001
Oppose or	7	46	very
Strongly oppose this policy?	0	24	significant
Number of cases	(70)	(225)	

the surface with respect to many points. Table 4 reports some beliefs which black workers are said to have concerning working with whites. Table 5 reports a corresponding set of beliefs which white workers are said to have concerning working with blacks. In general, black workers showed a higher level of hostility and sense of personal abuse by co-workers of the other race than did white workers. A majority of the black workers declared valid the list of stereotypes about white workers presented in Table 4. At least two-thirds of them expressed opinions indicating that on the job they are treated unfairly because of their race. When presented with a list of stereotypes about black workers, less than 40 percent of the white respondents declared them to be valid. A substantial share of white workers said they "did not know," presumably because they had never worked with black co-workers.

Opinions about work discrimination by blacks with high and low education. Do blacks with a high school or college education hold the same opinions with respect to race as blacks who have less than a high school diploma? Table 6 explores this question with respect to the racial aspects of employment and work. For this table, the black respondents were dichotomized into "low education" (less than 4 years of high school) and "high education" (4 years of high school or more). The two education groups were then cross-tabulated with selected items that have already been discussed in Tables 1 through 5, above.

For about one-half of the items, no significant differences were found between the responses of low and high education black respondents. The two groups differed significantly with respect to the following items:

1. Low education blacks were more inclined than high education blacks to believe that they had experienced racial discrimination in getting employment.
2. Higher education blacks believe that discrimination in employment exists at their places of employment (presumably for higher level jobs).
3. Low education blacks were more inclined than high education blacks to endorse statements about mistreatment on the job by whites.

It is plausible that these differences reflect the actual experience the two educational groups have had. It is easier to believe that low education blacks are subject to more discrimination and mistreatment than high education blacks than to accept the alternative interpretation, that lower education blacks misperceive and misinterpret the racial situation more than better-educated blacks.

Conclusion. If one could take the statistics about race and work at their full face value, it could be concluded that the labor market of the Chicago metropolitan area is well along the way to becoming color-blind. Parallel developments among both black and white workers support this optimistic be-

Table 4. BELIEFS OF BLACKS ABOUT WORKING WITH WHITES

Question	Black Respondents
I'm going to read a list of statements that black people sometimes make about working with whites. Please tell me if you mostly agree or mostly disagree with each one.	
A. Whites in labor unions want to keep all of the good jobs for themselves.	100
Mostly agree	67
Mostly disagree	16
Don't know	17
Number of cases	(70)
B. If something goes wrong at work, a white supervisor will usually try to blame a black worker rather than a white one if he can.	100
Mostly agree	56
Mostly disagree	27
Don't know	17
Number of cases	(70)
C. On the job, whites try to give all the dirty or unpleasant work to blacks.	100
Mostly agree	61
Mostly disagree	33
Don't know	6
Number of cases	(69)
D. When there are both black and white workers on the job, the whites tend to socialize together and make blacks feel unwelcome.	100
Mostly agree	47
Mostly disagree	39
Don't know	14
Number of cases	(70)

Table 5. BELIEFS OF WHITES ABOUT WORKING WITH BLACKS

Question	White Respondents
There are several reasons why white people say they don't like to work on the same job with black people. I'm going to read a list of reasons and ask you to say whether you agree or disagree with each one.	
A. Black workers are more inclined than white workers to loaf and not do their share of the work.	100
Agree.	36
Disagree	51
Don't know	13
Number of cases	(228)
B. Black workers are not as careful about doing their jobs right as white workers.	100
Agree.	24
Disagree	55
Don't know	21
Number of cases	(229)
C. Black workers often don't understand instructions or forget important details.	100
Agree.	30
Disagree	50
Don't know	20
Number of cases	(229)
D. When there are both black and white workers on the job, the blacks tend to socialize together and make whites feel unwelcome.	100
Agree.	39
Disagree	39
Don't know	22
Number of cases	(229)

Table 6. OPINIONS ABOUT WORK EXPRESSED BY LOW EDUCATION AND HIGH EDUCATION BLACKS

Question	Low Education	High Education	Significance
A. Do you prefer to work at a place where the people who you work with are	100	100	
All black	0	0	χ^2=0.125
Some black, some white, or	36	50	d.f.=1
Doesn't it matter?	64	50	p=.7242
Number of cases	(11)	(20)	not significant
B. If a black man and a white man--both equally qualified--applied for a job that was open at the place where you work, who would have the better chance of getting hired?	100	100	
The white man, or	39	88	χ^2=10.4
The black man?	0	12	d.f.=2
Both would have an equal chance	61	0	p=.0054
Number of cases	(23)	(8)	significant
C. Do you think that you ever did not get a job you applied for just because you are black and they wanted to hire a white?	100	100	
Yes	32	25	χ^2=6.6
No	34	63	d.f.=2
Maybe, unsure	34	12	p=0.0372
Number of cases	(38)	(32)	significant
D. Do you think that you were ever passed over for a raise or promotion because you are black?	100	100	
Yes	26	28	χ^2=3.4
No	40	56	d.f.=2
Maybe, unsure	34	16	p=0.1835
Number of cases	(38)	(32)	not significant

Table 6. OPINIONS ABOUT WORK EXPRESSED BY LOW EDUCATION AND HIGH EDUCATION BLACKS (cont.)

Question	Low Education	High Education	Significance
E. Some people say that building trade unions (like carpenters, electricians) give preference to whites over blacks in union memberships and apprenticeships. How important do you think this is in keeping blacks from getting ahead economically:	100	100	
Very important	65	66	χ^2=2.9
Important	29	31	d.f.=4
Unimportant or	0	3	p=0.5743
Very unimportant?	3	0	not
Don't know	3	0	significant
Number of cases	(38)	(32)	
F. Some people say that white employers in Chicago have a policy of giving their supervisory positions (such as shop foreman or office manager) to whites, even though qualified blacks are available. How important do you think this is in keeping blacks from getting ahead economically:	100	100	
Very important	63	81	χ^2=3.1
Important	34	16	d.f.=2
Unimportant or	3	3	p=0.2076
Very unimportant?	0	0	not
Number of cases	(38)	(32)	significant
G. Some companies hire very few black people in important jobs. Certain black leaders think that these companies should be given a quota of black workers that must be employed in good jobs. Do you	100	100	
Strongly favor	56	60	χ^2=4.3
Favor	32	10	d.f.=3
Neutral	7	10	p=.2349
Oppose	5	20	not
Number of cases	(60)	(10)	significant

Table 6. OPINIONS ABOUT WORK EXPRESSED BY LOW EDUCATION AND HIGH EDUCATION BLACKS (cont.)

Question	Low Education	High Education	Significance
H. If something goes wrong at work, a white supervisor will usually try to blame a black worker rather than a white one if he can.	100	100	
Mostly agree	66	44	χ^2=5.7
Mostly disagree	26	28	d.f.=2
Don't know	8	28	p=0.0583
Number of cases . . .	(38)	(32)	quasi-significant
I. On the job, whites try to give all the dirty or unpleasant work to blacks.	100	100	
Mostly agree	67	53	χ^2=7.3
Mostly disagree	22	47	d.f.=2
Don't know	11	0	p=0.0256
Number of cases . . .	(37)	(32)	significant
J. When there are both black and white workers on the job, the whites tend to socialize together and make blacks feel unwelcome.	100	100	
Mostly agree	47	47	χ^2=7.1
Mostly disagree	29	50	d.f.=2
Don't know	24	3	p=0.0282
Number of cases . . .	(38)	(32)	significant

lief. A majority of both black and white workers strongly endorse the principle of non-discrimination in employment, and appear to be interacting with fellow workers on that principle. Despite an economic recession, neither race is blaming the other for "invading" its ranks or taking unfair advantage. Lack of adequate educational and other qualifications, rather than race, now seems to be the major impediment to further upward social mobility of black workers.

Prejudice and discrimination appear to lie on the doorstep of the white employer, rather than the individual white employee. To the extent that white workers exercise prejudice in the workplace, they appear to do it in an organized manner through management decisions and labor unions, rather than as personal bigotry. A substantial (though minority) share of black workers (especially low education workers) declare that they personally have been discriminated against, and all but a small fraction of black workers believe that individual corporations, unions and industries are racist and are discriminating against blacks in hiring new workers or are keeping blacks out of higher positions. The white labor force in general deplores this practice and advocates its abolition.

An overall summary of the opinions which blacks have concerning discrimination on the job is provided by Table 7. Slightly more than one-half of all respondents believe that a substantial amount of discrimination exists. They see the present situation improved in comparison with five years ago, but improving more slowly than it was 5–10 years ago. A test to determine whether these opinions differ between those with high and low education was made. There is no significant difference between the two groups; these opinions are shared in equal proportions by both groups.

Residential apartheid and race in Chicago

Despite the fact that it is unlawful to practice overt racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing in the United States, residential segregation persists in Chicago. Segregation is known to be maintained by long standing, culturally-transmitted beliefs and prejudices which are reflected in the attitudes of the public. An amazing aspect of this phenomenon is that the minority (black) population also comes to accept residential apartheid as morally right and proper, in conformity to the will of the majority (white) population. Abolition of segregation therefore calls for a rejection of residential apartheid by black as well as white citizens.

A. Acceptance of Residential Apartheid (Table 8)

In 1975 in Chicago, both the black and the white populations showed great ambivalence and diversity of opinion about residential segregation. They were asked a question designed to go right to the heart of the apartheid issue: "Many white people feel that they should have the right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods if they want. Do you agree or disagree?"

Table 7. PERCEIVED OVERALL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

Question	Black Respondents
A. How much discrimination against blacks in hiring for jobs is there now?	100
A great deal	36
Fairly much	20
Fairly little or	30
Almost none	11
Don't know	3
Number of cases	(70)
B. Compared with five years ago (in 1969) do you think that there is more, the same, less or much less discrimination against blacks in getting jobs?	100
More	13
The same	27
Less	40
Much less	20
Number of cases	(70)
C. Compared with ten years ago (in 1964) is there more, the same, less or much less discrimination against blacks in getting jobs?	100
More	27
The same	20
Less	41
Much less	9
Don't know	3
Number of cases	(70)

Table 8. BLACK AND WHITE RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS CONCERNING ATTITUDES TOWARD AND EXPERIENCE OF RESIDENTIAL INTEGRATION

Question	Black	White	Significance
A. Many white people feel that they should have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhood if they want to. Do you	100	100	
Completely agree	9	21	χ^2 =31.0
Partially agree	6	25	d.f.=4
Neutral	20	6	p= 0.0001
Partially disagree or	41	24	very
Completely disagree?	24	24	significant
Number of cases	(70)	(226)	
B. Approximately what proportion of the families on this block are white (black)?	100	100	
None	34	85	χ^2 =81.9
1-10	61	10	d.f.=4
11-25	1	2	p= 0.0001
26-50	0	0	very
Over 50 percent	4	2	significant
Don't know	0	1	
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	
C. Have you ever lived on a block where whites also lived? (Asked only if responded "none" in panel B)	100		
Yes	54		
No	46		
Number of cases	(24)		
D. Do you prefer to live in an all-black neighborhood, or would you like to live in a racially integrated neighborhood? (Asked only if responded "none" in panel B)	100		
Prefers all-black	42		
Prefers integrated	50		
No answer	8		
Number of cases	(24)		

(a) 35 percent of blacks either agreed or were neutral on the issue.
(b) 48 percent of whites disagreed that they had this right.
(c) About one-fourth of whites completely disavowed the apartheid claim; complete repudiation by whites was as strong as that by blacks.

These statistics indicate that blacks are only partially freed of the superstition that whites have the right to exclude them residentially. The fact that 41 percent only "partially disagreed" with residential apartheid (in addition to those who are clearly submissive) suggests that all but about a quarter of blacks still have lingering doubts about the legitimacy of asserting their full right to freedom of residential location.

The fact that only 21 percent of whites "completely agree" that they have the right to practice apartheid suggests that at least on an attitudinal basis, only a comparatively small minority would unilaterally assert the right to racial segregation. Nearly four-fifths of the white population has been at least partially if not wholly dislodged from the complete residential segregation position.

Thus, in Chicago it appears that deep inroads have been made into the culture of racial residential separation. That racial segregation is socially justifiable is fully tolerated by only a small minority of blacks and is asserted without shame by only a minority of whites.

Experience with integrated living. Despite this apparent convergence of the two races toward a condemnation of segregation, only a tiny fraction of whites have experienced integrated living. A large majority (85 percent) currently live in a block where there are no blacks. Only about 4 percent live on a block where as much as 10 percent of the population is black (Table 8, panel B). Similarly, blacks report either that they live on an all-black block or on a block where only a very few families are white.

Residential preferences. It would be erroneous to presume that all blacks want to live in an integrated neighborhood. Black citizens were asked, "Do you prefer to live in an all-black neighborhood or would you like to live in a racially integrated neighborhood?" Those who were living in all-black neighborhoods were equally divided; about one-half preferred living in an all-black neighborhood and one-half would have preferred living in an integrated neighborhood (Table 8, panel D).

B. The Limits to Integration (Table 9)

Nearly two-thirds of the black respondents believed that whites impose definite limits to residential integration (Table 9, panel A). A substantial fraction (14 percent) of those who believed there are limits believed that blacks are restricted entirely to all-black areas, and the vast majority believed that they have freedom to move only into a few selected integrated areas (panel B). Only 18 percent believed that there are few restrictions upon their residential location.

Table 9. PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK RESPONDENTS OF RESTRICTIONS ON RESIDENTIAL INTEGRATION

Question	Black Respondents
A. Do you think you could move into any neighborhood with housing available in your price range or do you think that you could not move into some neighborhoods with whites?	100
Yes, could move anywhere	37
No, there are limits	63
Number of cases	(70)
B. How much of a limit do you think there is in where blacks can live? Can blacks live (Asked only if responded "no" in panel A)	100
Only in all-black areas	14
In a few well integrated areas . .	68
In many white areas	18
Number of cases	(44)
C. Are blacks limited in where they can live because (Asked only if responded "no" in panel A)	100
They are not allowed to buy or rent in certain areas at all or because	40
It is too unpleasant or hostile to live in white areas	60
Number of cases	(42)
D. If you found a house or apartment that you liked very much but it was in an all-white neighborhood, would you	100
Move there if you wanted to or . .	45
Stay away to avoid possible conflict	55
Number of cases	(70)

Blacks who feel they are being limited in where they can live clearly comprehend that the restrictions imposed by whites are less legal than attitudinal; when asked why blacks are limited in where they can live (panel C) a majority asserted that it is because of white hostility. A majority of all black respondents reported that even if they found a house which they liked very much, they would not move into it if it were in a white neighborhood–because of their anticipation of white hostility (panel D). A part of this response may stem from fear of reprisals by whites if they were to live in an all-white neighborhood, or from preference for living in a neighborhood where blacks were sufficiently powerful numerically to protect against unpleasant social snubs.

C. Discrimination in Purchase and Rental of Housing (Table 10)

White and black respondents agree that blacks are discriminated against in the purchase and rental of housing. Table 10 explores this topic. Nearly three-fourths of white respondents agree that whites get preferential treatment in getting loans for the purchase of housing (panel A). Blacks overwhelmingly believe that they are required to pay more rent than whites (panel B). Many blacks seem to believe that the situation in the purchase and rental of housing is improving slowly, but the general attitude seems to be that most of the progress was made 5–10 years ago during the Johnson administration and that little or much less progress has been made in the past five years during the Nixon-Ford administration (panels C, D, E, F). A substantial share of blacks (10–15 percent) believed there is more discrimination in the purchase and rental of housing now than 10 years ago. An additional 15–20 percent believed there is about the same amount of discrimination. Apparently there was a belief that the situation concerning buying has improved more in the past decade than the situation concerning rental of housing (panels C versus D and E versus F).

D. Dissatisfaction with Housing (Table 11)

Blacks are much more dissatisfied with their housing and their neighborhood than are whites (Table 11). A higher proportion of blacks than of whites rate their neighborhoods as unsatisfactory and dangerous places to live (panels C and D). A substantial share of blacks expect conditions in their neighborhoods to improve in the next five years, but about one-fifth expect conditions to get worse (panel E). Most blacks expect their neighborhoods to continue to be all-black five years from now, while only about one-fifth expect integration (panel F).

A larger proportion of blacks than of whites intend to move out of the house they are now occupying (panels A and A-1). Of those who would like to move, only a small minority would like to move to a neighborhood where whites are clearly in the majority. More than half would like to move to an integrated neighborhood, but would like such a neighborhood to be about one-half black and one-half white (panel B).

Table 10. DISCRIMINATION IN THE PURCHASE OR RENTAL OF HOUSING

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents
A. Suppose a black man and a white man--both with the same income and credit rating--want to apply for a loan to buy a home in your neighborhood. Who do you think generally has the better chance of getting the loan, the		100
White man of		73
The black man		4
Both have the same chance		19
Don't know		4
Number of cases		(229)
B. Do you think black people usually have to pay more, the same, or less rent than white people in order to rent the same amount and quality of housing?	100	100
More	90	38
The same	6	47
Less	3	11
Don't know	1	4
Number of cases	(70)	(229)
Significance: $\chi^2 = 57.0$; d.f. = 3; $p = < .0001$ (very significant)		
C. Do you think that there is more, the same, less or much less discrimination against blacks in buying homes than there was five years ago?	100	
More	9	
The same	26	
Less	41	
Much less	21	
Don't know	3	
Number of cases	(70)	
D. How about ten years ago? Is there more, the same, less or much less discrimination in home buying now?	100	
More	20	
The same	19	
Less	56	
Much less	4	
Don't know	1	
Number of cases	(60)	

Table 10. DISCRIMINATION IN THE PURCHASE OR RENTAL OF HOUSING (cont.)

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents
E. Do you think that there is more, the same, less or much less discrimination against blacks in renting apartments than there was five years ago?	100	
More	13	
The same	20	
Less	35	
Much less	31	
Don't know	1	
Number of cases	(70)	
F. How about ten years ago? Is there more, the same, less or much less discrimination in renting apartments now?	100	
More	14	
The same	14	
Less	63	
Much less	6	
Don't know	3	
Number of cases	(70)	

E. Opinions about Residential Segregation by Blacks According to Education

A comparison was made of opinions about residential segregation held by blacks with high education (four years of high school or more) versus those with low education (less than four years of high school). The items appearing in panels B, C, D, E, F of Table 9 were subjected to this analysis. No significant difference was found between the opinions of blacks with high and low education, except for the question of Panel D: educated blacks were more inclined to believe that there is more discrimination in home buying now than ten years ago than were blacks with less education. With this minor modification, the black opinions summarized here tend to be characteristic of both educational groups.

Table 11. DISSATISFACTION WITH HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. Do you think you will move from this house (apartment) in the next two years?	100	100	
Yes	27	18	χ^2 =6.3
No	50	67	d.f.=2
Not sure	23	16	p=0.0435
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	significant
A-1 Would you like to move? (Within the next 2 years) (Asked only if responded "no" or "not sure" in panel A)	100	100	
Yes	24	17	χ^2 =1.024
No	74	81	d.f.=2
Don't know	2	2	p=0.5993
Number of cases	(51)	(185)	not significant
B. What type of neighborhood would you most like to move to?	100		
A mostly black neighborhood	40		
A neighborhood about evenly mixed between blacks and whites or	56		
A mostly white neighborhood	4		
Number of cases	(25)		
C. How would you rate this neighborhood as a place to live? Is it	100	100	
Very satisfactory	14	48	χ^2 =45.8
Satisfactory	46	43	d.f.=4
Neutral	16	4	p = 0.0001
Unsatisfactory or	20	4	very
Very unsatisfactory	4	1	significant
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	
D. Would you say this neighborhood is a very safe, fairly safe, somewhat dangerous or very dangerous place to live?	100	100	
Very safe	9	44	χ^2 =55.7
Fairly safe	54	48	d.f.=3
Somewhat dangerous	26	8	p = 0.0001
Very dangerous	11	0	very
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	significant

Table 11. DISSATISFACTION WITH HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD (cont.)

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
E. Five years from now, would you guess that this neighborhood will be a better place to live, a worse place to live, or will it be about the same?	100	100	
Better	40	12	χ^2 =29.1
The same	37	63	d.f.=3
Worse	20	22	p= 0.0001
No information, don't know	3	3	very
Number of cases	(70)	(226)	significant
F. Five years from now, do you think this neighborhood will be mostly white, mostly black or will it be racially integrated?	100	100	
Mostly white (includes all white)	4	60	χ^2 =142.6
Mostly black (includes all black)	60	4	d.f.=3
Integrated	19	28	p= 0.0001
Don't know	17	8	very
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	significant

F. Correlation between Items (Table 12)

The preceding discussion has introduced several measures of black opinion about discrimination and willingness to live in integrated neighborhoods. The question might be asked, "Is there any correlation among these various opinions?" Table 12 selects four key items and presents measures of correlation (Somer's D) for each with every other. (For computation of these tables, all items were dichotomized.) It is clear from this table that there are correlations among the items, but the correlations are low. According to this table, the following relationships appear to exist:

(a) Blacks who disagree that whites have a right to keep them out also tend to perceive a lower intensity of discrimination (believe they now can move into any neighborhood where they could pay the rent).

(b) Blacks who disagree that whites have a right to keep them out would be more inclined to move into an all-white neighborhood if they found a house there they liked and could afford.

(c) Blacks who believe they now can move into any neighborhood where they could pay the rent would be more inclined to move to such a neighborhood.

Table 12. CORRELATION AMONG ITEMS PERTAINING TO RACIAL SEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION

(The measure of association is Somer's D, Symmetric.)

Item	Table and Panel	Symbol	Item Symbol I	II	III	IV
Whites have a right to keep out blacks	7A	I	---	.31	.21	n.s.
Could you move into any neighborhood you wished?	8A	II	.31	---	.20	n.s.
Would you move into an all-white neighborhood?	8D	III	.21	.20	---	n.s.
What proportion of families on your block are white?	7B	IV	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	---

n.s. Items which are not statistically significant at the .05 level have been given this notation.

Thus, although the correlations are quite low, as blacks free themselves of the superstition that whites have a right to keep blacks out of their residential areas, two other opinions tend to change:

(a) They tend to lower their estimate of the amount of residential segregation that exists.

(b) They tend to be more willing to move into all-white neighborhoods.

Summary. Blacks are aware that residential apartheid is no longer legal but about two-thirds of them perceive it as being nevertheless a reality, imposed by white hostility, by zoning ordinances, by discrimination in obtaining loans for the purchase of housing, and by charging higher rents to blacks than to whites. A very substantial fraction of them see themselves as forced by their race to live in undesirable housing in undesirable neighborhoods. Yet only a minority of blacks have fully freed themselves of the superstition that such a policy is not morally wrong. Given the present situation, only about half of the blacks would like to live in an integrated neighborhood, and if they did live in such a neighborhood they would like it to be about 50 percent black and 50 percent white, rather than predominantly white. (panel B, Table 11) When asked to speculate on what the future will bring, a majority of blacks tended to be pessimistic, stating that in the immediate future their housing conditions will not improve very much and that there will be little integration. As blacks free themselves of the apartheid superstition, they are more inclined

to lower their estimate of the amount of segregation that exists and to be more willing to move into integrated areas. Inasmuch as this superstition may be expected to decline in the future (albeit slowly), other things being equal we can look forward to a strengthening of pro-integration attitudes among blacks.

School integration

With respect to the racial integration of schools, black and white citizens of Chicago are not as far apart in their opinions as might be inferred from the strong reactions and public demonstrations that sometimes occur when greater integration is initiated. Despite the fact that more than 90 percent of black children in Chicago go to schools that are preponderantly black, only about 7 percent of the respondents to this survey stated that this is their preference (Table 13, panel A). More than half of them wanted to have integrated schools and an additional 40 percent said that they had no preference. Only a minority (39 percent) of white respondents wanted all-white schools, and more than one-third (36 percent) wanted integrated schools. As in the case of blacks, a large share had no preference. Thus, within both racial groups there is a very substantial proportion of adults who actively favor integration, an additional substantial proportion which is more or less neutral, and a minority which still is actively agitating for segregation. Although this minority is quite substantial in the white population, it no longer represents "the will of the people." In fact, the white population is very badly split on this issue, with almost equal portions favoring and opposing integration, and a large neutral group in the middle. Public opinion has clearly tipped toward school integration and anti-integration is now a minority position among white as well as black residents.

Blacks overwhelmingly believed that all schools in the U.S. should be racially integrated (panel B). Unfortunately, this question was not asked of whites, but it could be surmised that they would be even more favorably disposed toward nationwide integration than their responses in panel A report with respect to preferences for their own children.

Blacks perceived whites to be far less favorable toward school integration than the whites reported themselves to be. More than two-thirds of black respondents agreed with the statement that most whites will do everything possible to avoid racial integration of the schools (panel C). However, they attributed much of this resistance to the poorer quality of black schools. A majority believed that whites would accept integration if the schools were good (panel D).

Sentiments favoring school integration are much stronger among educated than among uneducated blacks. Table 13A divides the group of black respondents who stated unequivocally that they favored school integration from

Table 13. ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Question	Black Respondent	White Respondent	Significance
A. What kind of school would you prefer your children (grandchildren) to attend?	100	100	
An all black (white) school or	7	39	χ^2=25.0
A racially integrated school?	53	36	d.f.=2
No preference	40	25	p=<.0001
Number of cases . . .	(70)	(224)	very significant
B. All the schools in the United States should be racially integrated.	100		
Agree strongly	17		
Agree	54		
Neutral	17		
Disagree	11		
Disagree strongly . . .	0		
Number of cases . . .	(70)		
C. Most whites will do almost anything to keep from having their children go to school with blacks.	100		
Agree strongly	11		
Agree	56		
Neutral	19		
Disagree	14		
Disagree strongly . . .	0		
Number of cases . . .	(70)		
D. Most whites wouldn't mind having their children go to school with black children if the schools were good.	100		
Agree strongly	9		
Agree	49		
Neutral	24		
Disagree	17		
Disagree strongly . . .	1		
Number of cases . . .	(70)		

Table 13A. ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL EDUCATION; BLACK RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Question	Low education	High education	Significance
A. What kind of school would you prefer your children (grandchildren) to attend?	100	100	χ^2=4.9
Racially integrated	40	69	d.f.=1
Racially segregated or neutral.	60	31	p=.03 Sig.
B. All the schools in the United States should be racially integrated.	100	100	χ^2=6.1
Agree	58	88	d.f.=1
Neutral or disagree	42	12	p=.01 Sig.

those who were fence-sitters (neutral) or frank segregationists, and cross-classifies the two groups by educational level of the respondent. This was done for the first two questions of Table 13 (panels A and B). In each case, a much higher proportion of the high education than of the low education respondents favored school integration. No significant difference was found between low and high education groups with respect to Panels C and D of Table 13 (data not shown).

The opinions reported above were asked in the abstract—without reference to how the integration should be achieved (busing or residential integration) or to other issues involved in questions about race problems in the schools.

As Surgeon emphasizes in the first essay in this volume, the question of race relations and the schooling of the young is a highly complex area involving several dimensions, many of which do not involve race directly. For this reason, and because it is an issue to which there is a great deal of current interest, it is explored in greater depth in a separate essay which follows the present one.

Black activism to attain racial equality

Blacks have engaged in five major types of activities to promote greater racial equality:

(a) Orderly marches and demonstrations
(b) Boycotts of businesses that do not hire blacks
(c) Campaigning for black candidates for public office
(d) Disruption of political candidates who do not support blacks
(e) Violent confrontations with police.

Table 14. BLACK ACTIVISM TO ATTAIN RACIAL EQUALITY

	Total	Approval-disapproval continuum					Significance
		Favor strongly	Favor	Neutral	Oppose	Oppose strongly	
Question: I am going to list some things black people have done to try to get more rights. For each one please tell me if you favor it strongly, favor it, oppose it or oppose it strongly.							
A. Orderly marches and demonstrations.							χ^2=36.0 d.f.=4 p<.001 very significant
Black respondents	100	27	46	17	10	0	
White respondents	100	9	41	8	30	12	
B. Boycotts of businesses that do not hire blacks.							χ^2=47.8 d.f.=4 p<.001 very significant
Black respondents	100	30	44	6	19	1	
White respondents	100	5	33	15	34	13	
C. Campaign work for black candidates for public office.							χ^2=4.2 d.f.=4 p=.38 not significant
Black respondents	100	17	66	13	4	0	
White respondents	100	22	61	8	8	1	
D. Disrupting speeches by politicians who do not support black rights.							χ^2=29.1 d.f.=4 p<.001 very significant
Black respondents	100	0	7	21	53	19	
White respondents	100	0	4	4	55	37	
E. Violent confrontations with police to protest the treatment of blacks.							χ^2=40.0 d.f.=4 p<.001 very significant
Black respondents	100	1	4	14	52	29	
White respondents	100	0	1	1	37	61	

There is overwhelming black support for the first three of these tactics, but only limited support for the last two (Table 14). (Whites wholeheartedly approve of political campaigning, are rather evenly divided pro and con on demonstrations and boycotts, and universally condemn disruptive and violent tactics.)

Both whites and blacks agreed that public demonstrations have helped in the past to improve the conditions of blacks (Table 15), but were less confident that activism of this type will be effective in the future (panel B). Blacks were considerably more inclined than whites to believe that public demonstrations in the future will help to bring racial equality. Less than one-quarter of blacks were of the opinion that this could not do some good.

Table 15. OPINIONS ABOUT THE PAST AND FUTURE EFFECTIVENESS OF PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS FOR EQUAL RIGHTS

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. Some people say that in the past demonstrations, marches, and sit-ins have helped to improve the condition of blacks in this country. Do you	100	100	
Agree strongly . . (ASK B) . . .	37	12	χ^2=33.1
Agree . . . . . (ASK B) . . .	37	46	d.f.=4
Neutral	17	11	p=<.001
Disagree or	7	25	very
Disagree strongly?	1	6	significant
Number of cases	(70)	(224)	
B. Some people say these methods do not do much good any more. Do you	100	100	
Agree strongly	2	2	χ^2=41.5
Agree	21	51	d.f.=4
Neutral	35	2	p=<.001
Disagree or	40	42	very
Disagree strongly?	2	3	significant
Number of cases	(52)	(130)	

Black respondents with high education were slightly more inclined toward the activist position—on all of the activities to obtain rights—than black respondents with low education. A set of cross-tabulations of the items in Tables 14 and 15 by educational attainment revealed this consistency, but the differences were too small to be statistically significant. It should be tentatively concluded therefore that the picture of activism derived from Tables 14 and 15 characterizes all social strata of the black community. This might suggest that low-status blacks are far less militant than has been commonly believed and that high-status blacks are considerably more militant than has been commonly presumed. Moderation and rejection of violence characterize all strata, however.

On the basis of these data, it is possible to predict that the next few years will witness a continuation and even intensification of peaceful public demonstrations, boycotts of businesses that discriminate against blacks, and political activity to elect black political candidates to public office. However, barring crises which might trigger riots, there should be no major outbreaks of violence or civil disorder in Chicago deliberately planned and fomented as a strategy to attain equality.

Black separatism and black nationalism

It has been hypothesized that many black citizens have become so disenchanted at the slow pace of gaining equal rights that they have lost their loyalty to the United States as a nation, and are now ready to form a separate society. This separate society could be a separate nation or a series of enclaves within the present one. In order to probe this possibility, blacks and whites were both asked to select which of four policies on race they think would be best for the country. The distribution of responses to this question (Table 16) shows that black nationalism is almost nonexistent among the black population of Chicago. Black separatism, as a philosophy, is almost as rare. Nearly nine out of ten black respondents endorsed the principle of peaceful racial integration as the long-term objective for the nation. A majority of whites subscribed to the same philosophy. The tiny percentage of whites who went even further and endorsed the destruction of race by intermarriage is equal to the fraction of blacks who want a completely separate nation. Thus, both extreme polarization and complete amalgamation are currently regarded, by both races, as too "radical" to be taken seriously as solutions to the race problem. The crux of the issue is the 30 percent excess of whites, in comparison with blacks, who still favor residential apartheid. Barring an upsurge of black separatism, progress in racial amity awaits a further shrinking of the white apartheid minority.

Separatism in government programs. One facet of the black separatism or black nationalism movement is the proposal to place the administration of special government programs to assist blacks entirely within the hands of black administrators. Table 17 reports black and white opinion with respect to three such proposals. The amazing result of this table is that blacks are less separatist than whites: in other words, whites are much more inclined to turn over these programs to all-black administrations than are blacks. Blacks tend to be neutral or to actively disagree with the separatist approach. That blacks want special programs administered on an integrated basis is further evidence of the comparatively small nationalist or separatist sentiment that exists.

This opposition to separatism was manifested by black respondents of low as well as high education; a cross-classification of the items of Table 17 according to the educational attainment of the respondents yielded only insignificant differences (data not shown).

Social interaction between the races

About one-half of all blacks and one-half of all whites reported that they have had friendly social relationships with members of the other race (Table 18). Among blacks, 46 percent said they had had at least one close friend who is white (panel A) and 52 percent said they have visited white friends in their homes (panel B). It should be noted, however, that for a majority of blacks with white friends, home visiting is comparatively infrequent—less than once per month (panel C).

Table 16. BLACK NATIONALISM IN CHICAGO

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. Which of these four policies on race do you think would be best for this country? CHOOSE ONE	100	100	
Black people should work to become a completely separate nation	4	4	χ^2=27.6 d.f.=3 p=.0001 very significant
Black people should live in separate neighborhoods from whites	9	38	
Blacks and whites should live together in the same neighborhoods or	87	54	
Blacks and whites should intermarry until there are no longer two separate races	0	4	
Number of cases	(70)	(222)	
B. How likely do you think it is that integration will be accomplished within the next ten years? Is it	100	100	
Very likely	25	8	χ^2=30.9 d.f.=4 p=<.001 very significant
Likely	51	32	
Unlikely or	8	37	
Very unlikely?	13	23	
Don't know	3	0	
Number of cases	(61)	(119)	
C. How about integration within the next 25 years? Is it	100	100	
Very likely	50	29	χ^2=12.8 d.f.=4 p=.012 significant
Likely	33	50	
Unlikely or	5	15	
Very unlikely?	8	6	
No response	3	1	
Number of cases	(60)	(119)	

Table 17. OPINIONS CONCERNING GOVERNMENT POLICIES TO REMEDY DISCRIMINATION

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
I am going to read you a list of statements about black management of community affairs in black neighborhoods. For each one, please tell me if you agree strongly, agree, disagree or disagree strongly with the statement.			
A. Businesses located in black neighborhoods should hire mostly black employees.	100	100	
Agree strongly	6	29	χ^2=88.8
Mostly agree	19	52	d.f.=4
Neutral	39	5	p=.0001
Mostly disagree	37	13	very
Disagree strongly	0	1	significant
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	
B. Schools located in black neighborhoods should have black superintendents and black principals.	100	100	
Agree strongly	3	29	χ^2=74.9
Mostly agree	11	41	d.f.=4
Neutral	34	8	p=.0001
Mostly disagree	49	22	very
Disagree strongly	3	0	significant
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	
C. Anti-poverty programs--like Model Cities or public housing--which are intended for black neighborhoods should be staffed and run by blacks.	100	100	
Agree strongly	7	22	χ^2=45.8
Mostly agree	19	46	d.f.=4
Neutral	33	8	p=.0001
Mostly disagree	40	24	very
Disagree strongly	1	0	significant
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	

Table 18. SOCIAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION BETWEEN THE RACES

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. Have you ever had a close friend who was white (black)?	100	100	χ^2=.003 d.f.=1 p=.96 not significant
Yes . . . (ASK B)	46	46	
No	54	54	
Number of cases	(69)	(227)	
B. Have you ever visited a white (black) friend in his or her home?	100	100	χ^2=1.2 d.f.=1 p=.27 not significant
Yes . . . (ASK C)	52	44	
No	48	56	
Number of cases	(69)	(222)	
C. How often do you visit socially (drop in for coffee, have a meal or spend an evening) in the homes of white (black) families:	100	100	χ^2=23.6 d.f.=3 p=.0001 very significant
Once a week or more	19	1	
2 to 3 times a month	3	4	
Once a month or	22	7	
Less than that?	56	88	
Number of cases	(36)	(97)	
D. How would you feel about being seen in public in the company of a white (black) person of the same sex or a white (black) couple? (By this I mean eating in a restaurant or going to a movie with white (black) people.) Would you feel	100	100	
Very comfortable	21	26	χ^2=5.1 d.f.=4 p=.28 not significant
Comfortable	37	36	
Neutral, depends	30	19	
Uncomfortable	9	15	
Very uncomfortable?	3	4	
Number of cases	(70)	(226)	

Table 18. SOCIAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION BETWEEN THE RACES (cont.)

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
E. Suppose you had a teen-age son or daughter who began dating a white (black) friend. Would you	100	100	
Approve	21	12	χ^2=110.8
Neutral, depends	58	6	d.f.=3
Disapprove or	16	36	p=.0001
Disapprove strongly?	5	46	very
Number of cases	(67)	(227)	significant
F. Suppose you had a 25-year-old son or daughter who announced his or her engagement to a white (black) fiancé. If they seemed to be well-matched in interests and personality, would you	100	100	
Try to prevent them from getting married	8	30	χ^2=63.2
Advise them not to get married or	25	53	d.f.=3
Approve the marriage?	59	15	p=.0001
Don't know, no response	8	2	very
Number of cases	(64)	(221)	significant

A majority of blacks as well as whites reported that they feel comfortable when they appear in public in the company of members of the other race (panel D) although a substantial minority (nearly one-half) of each group reported either that their feelings "depend upon the situation" or that they feel outright discomfort.

Interracial courtship and marriage is tolerated but not sought after by blacks. Nearly 80 percent reported they would have some feelings of ambivalence if a child began dating a member of the other race (panel E). If a courtship reached a stage that marriage was proposed, 30 percent would advise against the marriage, although slightly more than one-half would approve it (panel F).

Although white respondents match black respondents in feeling comfortable about appearing in public with black friends, nearly 80 percent disapproved of interracial courtship and an equal percentage would advise against interracial marriage. Thus, there seems to have been almost no relaxation of white resistance to intermarriage. A cross-tabulation of all of the items of Table 18 for black respondents classified by level of education revealed that

respondents with high education showed a tendency to have had more social interaction with whites and were more approving of interracial dating and interracial marriage than black respondents with low education. The differences were not sufficiently large to be statistically significant, however, with the small sample of cases available.

Another cross-classification for the black respondents of the various types of social interaction (the variables of Table 18) revealed that there is a very low level of association among them. For example, visiting a white person in his home was found to be moderately associated with a greater acceptance of interracial dating and interracial marriage, but the correlations were low although bordering on statistical significance (data not shown). It cannot be determined which is cause and which effect in such correlations.

From the above data, it might be concluded that social relations between blacks and whites have been getting more positive at the level of association and secondary contact, but that as yet comparatively little progress has been made toward close human relations of the type indicated by frequent visiting in homes, dating, and intermarriage. The black population appears neither to expect nor to be especially eager to have such social contact, although they tend to accept it when it is offered by whites.

Synthesis

The preceding analysis has made a conscientious effort to describe black opinions about race relations in as much detail as possible. It is not possible to summarize them neatly in a phrase or two. This concluding section will try to itemize the major findings and draw some inferences from them.

Table 19 selects items reported in previous tables, which represent key opinions of blacks with respect to the race situation. Where possible, the corresponding opinion of whites is also shown. These items cover all aspects of race relations: work, residence, school, activism, social interaction and intermarriage. These statistics all have one element in common—on each of the indices, except intermarriage, between 35 and 65 percent of all blacks give responses which indicate that they no longer believe that racial discrimination, in its pure form, is a major force. This group is unique:

(a) They assert that little discrimination exists in employment.
(b) They repudiate apartheid and would be willing to move into an all-white or integrated neighborhood.
(c) They believe whites are ready to integrate schools if it can be done without loss of quality in education.
(d) They believe that demonstrations no longer are effective in improving racial equality.
(e) They are completely comfortable in social interaction with whites.

These attitudes do not reflect a group with a slave mentality which obediently echoes the beliefs its masters wish it to possess.

Table 19. COMPARISON OF RESPONSES OF BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS TO KEY QUESTIONS CONCERNING RACE RELATIONS

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. If a black man and a white man--both equally qualified--applied for a job that was open at the place where you work, who would have the better chance of getting hired?	100	100	
The white man	52	25	χ^2=13.2
The black man	3	23	d.f.=2
Both would have an equal chance	45	52	p=.004
Number of cases	(71)	(107)	very significant
B. How much discrimination against blacks in hiring for jobs is there now?	100		
A great deal or fairly much	57		
Only a little or almost none	43		
Number of cases	(70)		
C. Many white people feel that they should have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhood if they want to. Do you	100	100	χ^2=6.2
Agree or are neutral	34	52	d.f.=1
Disagree	66	48	p=.01
Number of cases	(70)	(226)	Significant
D. If you found a house or apartment that you liked very much but it was in an all-white neighborhood, would you	100		
Move there if you wanted to	45		
Stay away to avoid possible conflict	55		
Number of cases	(70)		

Table 19. COMPARISON OF RESPONSES OF BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS TO KEY QUESTIONS CONCERNING RACE RELATIONS (cont.)

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
E. What kind of school would you prefer your children (grandchildren) to attend?	100	100	χ^2=23.5 d.f.=1
Segregated school	7	39	p=.002
Integrated school or doesn't matter	93	61	very
Number of cases	(70)	(224)	significant
F. Most whites wouldn't mind their children going to school with black children if the schools were good.	100		
Agree	57		
Neutral or disagree	43		
Number of cases	(70)		
G. ACTIVISM. Some people say demonstrations do not do much good any more.	100	100	χ^2=.045 d.f.=1
Agree or neutral	58	55	p=.83
Disagree	42	45	not
Number of cases	(52)	(130)	significant
H. SOCIAL INTERACTION. How would you feel about being seen in public with a white (black) person of the same sex?	100	100	χ^2=0.2 d.f.=1
Comfortable	59	63	p=.62
Uncomfortable or neutral (depends)	42	37	not
Number of cases	(70)	(226)	significant
I. INTERMARRIAGE. If you had a 25-year-old child who announced engagement to a white (black) fiancé, would you	100	100	χ^2=62.6 d.f.=1
Advise against or try to prevent the marriage	36	85	p=.001
Approve of the marriage	64	15	very
Number of cases	(59)	(217)	significant

The opinions of the white respondents complement those of the blacks, for they all have a distinctly conciliatory and equally transitional flavor. Only in the ultimate issue of intermarriage is there evidence of a "hard line" on the part of white respondents.

In painting this somewhat optimistic picture, it should not be overlooked that there is another group of black respondents, almost equally large for some categories, which reaffirms the commonly known beliefs about discrimination—that it is still severe in employment, that most whites would keep their students out of integrated schools even if they were all excellent, that demonstrations should continue, and that they feel uncomfortable when they are in the company of whites. Yet these opinions do not betoken an enraged and alienated mass which believes it can get its rights only by demanding them and creating social unrest to get them. Instead, it seems to indicate a set of opinions which one would expect in a transition period in which race relations are changing.

In this chapter, a number of different dimensions of black opinion with respect to race relations have been explored, one at a time. Before drawing final conclusions it will be helpful to find out how highly these various opinions are correlated with each other and what the pattern of these correlations might imply. Table 20 is a table of such intercorrelations, covering all of the dimensions explored thus far. If there were strong black opinions about race, one would expect high intercorrelations among the various aspects. (Surgeon's analysis of the dimensions of white prejudice, in Chapter One, is based upon this phenomenon.) In sharp contrast to those for whites, however, the correlations for blacks are almost all nearly zero and not statistically significant. Of the 66 possible correlations, only four were found to be statistically significant. The generalizations which may be drawn from these four correlations are:

(a) Black respondents who believed that whites get preferential treatment in hiring also tended to believe that employment discrimination still exists. (This is, of course, a tautological relationship.)
(b) Those who believed that employment discrimination still exists tended to disapprove of interracial marriage.
(c) Those who believed in preferential hiring of black workers in programs intended primarily for blacks also tended to disapprove of interracial dating.
(d) Those who disapproved of interracial dating also tended to disapprove of interracial marriage. (This is, of course, a tautological relationship.)

Two of the four significant correlations are tautologies. The remaining two represent extreme ends of the social distance continuum: the comparatively few blacks who felt most strongly about employment discrimination or who advocated racial separatism tended also to oppose racial dating or intermar-

Table 20. INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG BLACK OPINIONS CONCERNING RACE RELATIONS

Opinion	Variable Symbol	Table and Panel	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Social preferences in hiring	A	2E	---	.50*	-.19	-.19	.18	.08	-.11	.37	.01	-.27	.06	-.11
Amount of discrimination in hiring	B	3A	.50*	---	-.17	-.07	-.02	.01	.22	-.08	.06	.30*	-.14	.15
Acceptance of residential apartheid	C	8A	-.19	-.17	---	-.06	.17	.03	-.06	-.04	-.06	.05	-.05	-.21
Desire for integrated schools	D	13A	-.19	-.07	-.06	---	-.01	.07	-.01	.11	.04	.05	-.11	.17
Approval of orderly demonstrations	E	14A	.18	-.02	.17	-.02	---	.04	-.02	-.14	.14	.08	-.13	-.16
Approval of disrupting speeches	F	14B	.08	.01	.03	.07	.01	---	-.02	.12	.10	.18	-.12	-.11
Preferential hiring in black areas	G	17A	-.11	.22	-.06	-.01	-.02	-.02	---	-.08	-.06	.27	-.31*	.02
Demonstrations don't help anymore	H	13B	.37	-.08	-.04	.11	-.14	.12	-.08	---	.04	.01	.05	.12
Comfortable being seen in public	I	18B	.01	.06	-.06	.04	.14	.10	.06	.04	---	-.33*	.08	.25
Approval of interracial marriage	J	18E	-.27	.30*	.05	.05	.08	.18	.27	.01	-.33*	---	-.40*	-.25
Approval of interracial dating	K	18E	.06	-.14	-.05	-.11	-.13	-.12	-.31*	.05	.08	-.40*	---	.10
Willingness to move into white neighborhood	L	9B	-.11	.15	-.21	.17	-.16	-.11	.02	.12	.25	-.25	.10	---

Measure of correlation—Somer's D
***indicates statistically significant**

riage. All of the other dimensions of race opinions were so pro-integration or so uniquely related to the topic that they failed to have significant intercorrelations. This implies that (on the verbal level of survey interviewing, at least with a black interviewer) there is little evidence of a monolithic, deep-seated, consistent race hatred of whites by blacks. Instead, one major implication to be drawn from this analysis is that there seems to be overwhelming evidence of a willingness by adult blacks to soften their race attitudes if whites will do the same.

Another way of describing the present situation with respect to black opinion about race relations is that there are two competing views:

(a) Those who believe that discrimination is still alive and thriving,

(b) Those who believe that discrimination now is dead or almost dead.

The frequencies of Table 10 indicate that roughly one-half of the black population of Chicago falls in each of these two camps. An effort was made to epitomize this dichotomy in a single question as follows (Table 21):

Do you think black people in general are now getting
More than they are entitled to?
What they are entitled to?
Less than they are entitled to?

When thus forced to face the question directly and make an overall evaluation, nearly 70 percent concluded that blacks were still getting less than they are entitled to, while only 30 percent would agree with the opposite statements which imply that discrimination is dead or dying.

That this substantial minority of blacks who believe discrimination no longer exists are not "Uncle Toms" is indicated by Table 22, which cross-classifies the response to the above question according to birthplace, age, and educational attainment. This split in opinion is characteristic of all age groups, all birth-place groups, and all educational groups–and does not seem to be concentrated in any of them. However, those who had higher incomes were significantly more inclined to believe that blacks were getting less than they were entitled to than were those with lower incomes.

Table 21. TWO OVERALL INDICATORS OF SENSE OF RACE DISCRIMINATION

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. Some people say that blacks are getting too much special treatment now. Others feel they are still being discriminated against. Do you think black people in general are getting	100	100	
More than they are entitled to	0	36	χ^2=78.1
What they are entitled to	31	47	d.f.=2
Less than they are entitled to	69	17	p=.001
Number of cases	(70)	(217)	very significant
B. Some blacks say that whites owe poor blacks a national guaranteed minimum income program to make up for slavery and years of discrimination against blacks. Do you	100		
Mostly agree or	33		
Mostly disagree with this statement?	59		
Don't know, no response	8		
Number of cases	(69)		

Table 22. BELIEF IN EXISTENCE OF DISCRIMINATION BY AGE, PLACE OF BIRTH, EDUCATION, INCOME

Question: Are blacks getting less than they are entitled to or what they are entitled to? Characteristic of respondent:	Less than they are entitled to get	What they are entitled to get	Number of cases	Significance
Place of birth	69	31	70	χ^2=0.2
South	73	27	33	d.f.=1
Outside the South	65	35	37	p=.65
				not significant
Age	69	31	70	χ^2=1.1
Under 30 years	58	42	24	d.f.=1
30 years or over	74	26	36	p=.29
				not significant
Educational attainment	69	31	70	χ^2=.07
Low	68	32	60	d.f.=1
High	70	30	10	p=0.79
				not significant
Income	68	32	61	χ^2=6.6
Under $5,000	60	40	25	d.f.=2
$5,000 or over	78	22	36	p=0.04
				significant

It is a major finding of this research, therefore, that there has emerged in the black community a substantial minority of blacks who believe that racial discrimination is essentially dead or dying. Implicit in this opinion is the attitude that whatever special problems the black population is encountering are not unique to it as a race, but are due to factors which blacks share with others or which blacks have it in their power to alter.

Among the majority of blacks who believe that discrimination continues, there seems to be a firm determination that the situation must be altered. However, only a small minority want to accomplish this through violence or coercion. Instead, the philosophy of change through the ballot box, through tactics of passive resistance such as peaceful demonstrations and boycotts, and through competitive cooperation in the national system seems to predominate. Because of their present residential segregation, their rapidly rising educational qualification, and the concurrence by a majority of whites that racial discrimination is both immoral and costly, it is quite probable that the black citizenry will continue to make progress toward their goal of equality—using all of these legitimate avenues.

Changes in race relations in Chicago 1967–75 (Table 23)

In 1967 the Interuniversity Social Research Committee–Chicago Metropolitan Area sponsored a survey of race relations in Chicago.[2] A few key questions asked in that survey are comparable with those asked in the 1975 survey under analysis in this report, thereby permitting a few inferences concerning changes that have taken place in the eight-year interim. The 1967 survey interviewed a probability sample of 711 black respondents from Chicago. It also included 1090 white respondents, drawn from five all-white neighborhoods in Chicago and suburbs. The data for blacks are closely comparable, because both samples are probability samples from almost the same population at two intervals in time. The data for whites must be interpreted more cautiously, because it cannot be said that the combination of five areas are truly representative of the white population at that time. Yet the white areas chosen ranged all the way from a neighborhood threatened by invasion (Austin) to an upper-middle class area in the outer suburbs (Elmhurst).

Three major changes can be inferred to have taken place, based on a comparison of these two surveys:

(a) Blacks are much less militant now than they were in 1967, on an attitudinal basis.

(b) Whites are moderately less prejudiced with respect to blacks than they were in 1967 on an attitudinal basis.

(c) Whites are more willing to concede that blacks have the right to make peaceful demonstrations and conduct protests to attain equality than they had at that time.

The last two of these generalizations are tentative because the 1967 sample was not a true probability sample of the white population, as indicated above.

The situation in 1967 was so clearly one of black militancy that the summary report for that study, cited above, was organized around that theme. Here are some attitudes which blacks expressed at that time:

"Most white policemen and most judges will 'throw the book' at a Negro if they catch him doing something wrong, and they tend to let white lawbreakers go unpunished."

	Percent
Mostly agree	67
Mostly disagree	23
Don't know	10

"Do you expect riots in Chicago this summer?"

Yes	75
No	14
Don't know	11

[2]Donald J. Bogue and Richard McKinlay, *Militancy for and Against Civil Rights and Integration in Chicago: Summer, 1967.* Report Number 1, Interuniversity Social Research Committee. Community and Family Study Center, 1967.

Table 23. CHANGE IN SOME INDICATORS OF RACE RELATIONS IN CHICAGO, 1968 AND 1975

Question	Black		White	
	1968	1975	1968	1975
A. Many white people feel that they should have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhood if they want to	100	100	100	100
Disagree	71	65	37	48
Agree, Neutral, Don't Know	29	35	63	52
B. What kind of school would you prefer your children (grandchildren) to attend?	100	100	100	100
Segregated Schools or Don't Know	7	7	24	39
Integrated Schools	93	93	76	61
C. Would you approve or disapprove of your child marrying a black (white) person?			100	100
Disapprove			73	85
Approve			17	15
D. Attitude toward peaceful demonstrations by blacks for greater equality	100	100	100	100
Approve	76	73	34	50
Disapprove	34	27	66	50
E. Attitude toward violent confrontations (riots)	100	100	100	100
Approve	33	3	4	1
Disapprove	67	97	96	99

The 1967 report arrived at the following conclusions:

> Most whites seem to underestimate by a wide margin the massive determination of Negroes to achieve full civil rights. They also reject or fail to support Negro leaders who support moderation and nonviolence in the pursuit of this goal. On their part, Negroes appear to misjudge seriously the effect of a militant stand and sporadic violence upon the attitude of whites.
>
> The majority of whites admit to having become less favorable to the notion of rapid integration during the past year. Most whites feel that relations between the races are worse now than they were a year ago, while most Negroes feel that no change has taken place. . . .
>
> Negroes apparently fail to realize that the violence of the past year or two has cost them many former white supporters. By transferring their allegiance from elected leaders to the more militant Negro leaders, they are frightening and alienating many whites who, on moral and intellectual grounds, favor civil rights.
>
> Thus, there seems to be a tragic vicious circle of civil rights misunderstanding. Whites fail to support moderate Negro leaders. Without white support moderate Negro leaders cannot demonstrate any capacity to accomplish progress before their Negro constituents. Negro leadership then passes to more militant Negro leaders. This in turn withdraws more white support.[3]

The vicious circle described above has been broken by the black citizenry by their greatly moderating the militant and violent confrontation stance which was endorsed by a substantial share in 1967. One might have anticipated that in 1975 the survey would have shown evidence of a reciprocal response by whites, with a greater willingness to accept integration. *There seems to have been continued progress in the areas of work and political rights, but much less progress toward a lessening of the anti-integration attitudes of whites in the areas of residential integration, school integration and intermarriage.*

Conclusion

Sociologists are fond of making a distinction between *accommodation* (formal adjustment to living together) and *assimilation* (complete social acceptance of each other) by racial or other identifiable social groups. Using this distinction, it is possible to assert that the two major races in Chicago now have arrived at a moderately high degree of accommodation. Blacks have attained a moderately good degree of equality in the areas of employment and status as voters, and have improved their position in these areas over what it was eight years ago. Meanwhile, on the assimilation side, there is a massive amount of good will between the races, with a majority of whites and an overwhelm-

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 47-8.

ing preponderance of blacks favoring residential integration. Full assimilation, in the sense of intermarriage, is still a "radical" solution to the race problem in the eyes of both blacks and whites. This large reservoir of good will existed in 1967. During the past eight years it appears to have grown only slightly. Meanwhile, blacks have drastically revised their strategy for attaining equal rights. They have shifted from a militant to a more moderate stance. They have shifted the field of confrontation from physical confrontation in the streets to confrontation in legislative assemblies, economic boycotts, and peaceful demonstrations. They show the same strong determination to pursue the end of attaining full equal rights that they manifested at the earlier survey.

As indicated in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, the ecological pattern by which blacks are spacially segregated in the population and their increased equality in employment rights places them in a favorable position to attain progressively greater political influence and economic power. It is quite plausible that the black vote will become of greater and greater importance not only in elections but in the passage of routine legislation. It is equally plausible to presume that rapid upward mobility of blacks into positions of greater authority in all corporate and other institutions will continue, pushed by the growing importance of the "black market." It is perhaps the realization of their growing power in these areas that has eased their militant stance. However, it would be a mistake to assume, from the present more tranquil state of race relations, that all blacks are satisfied with the status quo. The data presented here suggest that beneath the more placid surface of race relations there will continue strong pressures toward even more accommodation and toward a lowering of the barriers against residential assimilation.

Chapter Four

OPINIONS OF BLACKS AND WHITES ABOUT RACE RELATIONS AND CHICAGO'S SCHOOLS

Donald J. Bogue

In researching the problem of race relations with respect to schooling, we must avoid the temptation to seize upon any single facet, such as busing, and allow it to crowd out other important aspects. The 1975 Chicago Race Relations Survey sought to explore several aspects of the problem as seen by both black and white citizens. This essay will undertake to explore each of these aspects separately, and then to study their interrelationships. A section will be devoted to each of the following opinion areas:

(a) The comparative quality of black and white schools
(b) The effect of faculty integration on quality of education
(c) The effect of student integration on quality of education
(d) The need to have racial content in the curriculum
(e) Education potential of black children
(f) Racial aspects of higher education
(g) Busing of children to attain integration

The preceding essay in this volume reported that blacks are about evenly divided in their opinions concerning school integration, with one-half favoring integration and the other half neutral or (only a few) prefering all-black schools. Whites, on the other hand, are even more divided in their opinions, with 38 percent favoring segregation, 36 percent favoring integration, and 25 percent having no preference. Thus, it is clear that *there is no such thing as a monolithic "black" or "white" opinion or policy on school integration.*

The previous essay also showed that there is no monolithic racial position, either black or white, with regard to residential integration or to social interaction between the races. In this essay the seven educational issues listed above will be explored in the light of the diversity of opinion expressed about key

aspects of race relations:

(a) Work discrimination
(b) Residential segregation
(c) Social interaction
(d) Militancy

The opinions of both black and white respondents will be reported, compared and analyzed for their correlates and implications.

Note: Because the number of variables involved in this analysis becomes very large, it will be necessary to summarize whole statistical tables with their detailed cross-classification with a single measure of correlation.

Comparative quality of black and white schools

Black respondents overwhelmingly held the opinion that in Chicago, schools in white neighborhoods are adequate (panel A, Table 1). There was even more agreement (84 percent) in the belief that schools in black neighborhoods were inadequate. White respondents, by contrast, tended to have a wide diversity of opinion as to the adequacy of schools in white neighborhoods (panel A). Although they tended to agree that the schools in black neighborhoods are not adequate to meet the needs of the students who attend them (panel B), they were not nearly so firm in their belief as blacks. (A substantial proportion of white respondents expressed "no opinion," presumably on the grounds that they lacked first-hand knowledge.)

Panel C of Table 1 calls for a direct comparison of the two sets of schools. Almost all blacks (91 percent) and a majority of whites (54 percent) believed that the quality of education in black schools is inferior to that of white schools. A substantial share of whites denied this and an additional share said they did not know.

As a corollary (or partial cause) of the opinion described above, it is a near-unanimous opinion of blacks that the physical facilities of black schools are inferior to those of white schools (panel D). White respondents tended to agree with this, although again a substantial share stated that they did not know.

Thus a fundamental aspect of the school problem in Chicago is that all but a few of the black citizens believe that black children are being given an education which is not only inferior in relation to that being given to whites, but which is absolutely inadequate in relation to the needs of the black students. More than one-half of whites agreed with this position. There is little doubt, therefore, that a majority of the public believes that Chicago's educational situation with respect to race is *"separate and unequal."* Nearly all black and a majority of white residents appear to believe this to be the case, yet about 30 percent of white respondents were of the opinion that the schools which blacks attend are equal to those of whites.

Table 1. COMPARATIVE QUALITY OF BLACK AND WHITE SCHOOLS

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. Do you think the public schools in white neighborhoods of Chicago are generally adequate to meet the needs of the students who attend them?	100	100	
Yes	80	40	χ^2=33.9
No	10	30	d.f.=2
No opinion	9	29	p=<.001
Number of cases	(69)	(224)	very significant
B. Do you think the public schools in black neighborhoods of Chicago are generally adequate to meet the needs of the students who attend them?	100	100	
Yes	16	18	χ^2=36.1
No	84	48	d.f.=2
No opinion	0	34	p=<.001
Number of cases	(70)	(224)	very significant
C. How do you think the quality of education in black schools in Chicago compares with the quality of education in white schools? Do	100	100	
White areas have much better schools than black areas	87	22	χ^2=95.7
Moderately better schools than black areas	4	32	d.f.=4
Are schools about equal in black and white areas, or	9	31	p=<.001 very significant
Do black areas have better schools	0	1	
Don't know or no answer	0	14	
Number of cases	(70)	(223)	
D. Black schools have poorer facilities than white schools.	100	100	
Agree	90	43	χ^2=46.5
Disagree	6	36	d.f.=2
Don't know	4	21	p=<.001
Number of cases	(69)	(227)	very significant

Effect of faculty integration on quality of education

A majority of the white respondents reported that they believe black teachers can do a better job of teaching black children than can white teachers (Table 2, panel A). Black respondents disagreed with this position or were neutral; only 17 percent of the black respondents agreed with this statement. Clearly, black respondents want at least some white teachers, *even in schools where all of the students are black.*

Both black and white respondents were of the opinion that black teachers can do as good a job teaching white students as white teachers can (panel B). In fact, the respondents seemed to think that black teachers are more successful at teaching white pupils than white teachers are at teaching black pupils. This opinion was held by both black and white respondents. Both black and white respondents overwhelmingly endorsed the idea of racial integration of the faculties of all schools—both black and white (panels C and D). Only 11 percent of whites opposed the idea of having black teachers on the faculties of white schools, and only 3 percent of blacks opposed the idea of having white teachers on the faculties of black schools. That this integration has not occurred in Chicago cannot be attributed to public opinion; it is an action which could occur with little public resistance and with endorsement by all but a tiny core of extremists.

Effect of student integration on education

Both black and white respondents tended to believe that black children get a better education if they go to an integrated school (Table 3, panel A). However, a very large share of each race (21–31 percent) believed that it makes no difference. A considerable fraction confessed that they did not know or that it depends on the circumstances. Thus public opinion was about equally divided between those who believe that integration provides a better climate for learning by black children and those who say it makes no difference, believe that it provides an inferior climate, or are not sure. Only a small fraction (9–12 percent) believed that black children get a better education in an all-black school. The thinking of the two races is not significantly different on this point.

There is a distinct racial difference of opinion, however, with respect to the effect of school integration on the quality of education obtained by the white students (panel B). About three-fourths of blacks believed that racial integration does not affect the quality of education received by whites or even improves it. Nearly two-fifths of white respondents (42 percent) believed that white children get a better education or an equally good education if they go to an integrated school. A substantial number said they did not know (19 percent.) Nevertheless a very sizable minority (39 percent) of the whites believed unequivocally that racially integrated schools provide inferior education for white children.

Table 2. EFFECT OF FACULTY INTEGRATION ON QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. Some people believe that black teachers can teach black students better than white teachers can. Do you	100	100	
Agree strongly	7	7	χ^2=29.0
Agree	10	44	d.f.=4
Neutral	34	18	p=<.001
Disagree or	43	29	very
Disagree strongly?	6	3	significant
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	
B. Some people believe that black teachers are not able to teach white students as well as white teachers can. Do you	100	100	
Agree strongly	1	3	χ^2=21.3
Agree	9	24	d.f.=4
Neutral	19	14	p=<.001
Disagree or	50	53	very
Disagree strongly?	21	6	significant
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	
C. Do you think white schools should have only white teachers or should there be some black and some white teachers?			
Only white	3	11	χ^2=18.2
Some white, some black	91	65	d.f.=2
No difference	6	24	p=<.001
Number of cases	(70)	(226)	very significant
D. Do you think black schools should have all black teachers or should there be some black and some white teachers?			
Only black	3	21	χ^2=23.1
Some white, some black	93	63	d.f.=2
No difference	4	16	p=<.001
Number of cases	(70)	(223)	very significant

Table 3. EFFECT OF STUDENT INTEGRATION ON QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. Do you think that black children generally get a better education if they go to	100	100	
All black schools or	9	12	χ^2=7.3
Racially integrated schools?	49	43	d.f.=3
No difference	31	21	p=.06
Depends, don't know	11	24	quasi-
Number of cases	(70)	(226)	significant
B. Do you think that white children get a better education if they go to	100	100	
All white schools or	22	39	χ^2=12.5
Racially integrated schools?	23	21	d.f.=3
No difference	41	21	p=.006
Depends, don't know	14	19	very
Number of cases	(70)	(229)	significant
C. How do you think going to an integrated high school affects the feeling of white teenagers toward black teenagers? Do white teenagers	100	100	
Become more friendly toward blacks	68	44	χ^2=18.3
Stay the same or	29	31	d.f.=3
Become less friendly toward blacks?	2	18	p=<.001
Don't know, no response	2	7	very
Number of cases	(68)	(222)	significant

On balance, the dominant opinion, among both black and white respondents, seems to be that integration of students in the public schools benefits the black students and does not harm the whites. This view is almost unanimous among blacks; whites are about equally divided on the point, with slightly more than two-fifths accepting integration, slightly less than two-fifths opposing it, and one-fifth uncertain.

An ancillary question of considerable importance is the effect which school integration has upon the race attitudes of oncoming generations. Respondents were asked what effect integration has upon the racial attitudes of the students themselves (panel C). Two-thirds of the blacks and 44 percent of the whites believed that integration caused whites to become more friendly toward blacks, yet nearly one-fifth of the white respondents believed that integration intensifies racial hostility. (The balance thought that race attitudes are unaffected by school integration or else did not know.)

Racial content of the curriculum

Another issue is the introduction of more black history and culture into the public school curriculum (Table 4). Both blacks and whites overwhelmingly approved of teaching more about the history and accomplishments of black people (panel A); less than 10 percent of whites disapproved of such a policy. An overwhelming proportion (79 percent) of blacks regarded it as very important that black children learn about African history and culture (panel B). An equal proportion went even further and said they would like to see black children learn an African language in public school (panel C). Thus, to black parents it seems to be a matter of importance that the school curriculum contain more black history and culture, and all but a small fraction of whites approve of such a change.

Educational potential of black children

A factor which complicates the problem of integrating schools is the lower average performance of black students in comparison with whites. This differential in performance is an established fact. Although there are contradictory explanations for this differential performance (ranging all the way from differences in quality of the schools, to differences in motivation of the students, to differences in physiological capacities to learn), the existence of the differential is undeniable. This "fact of life" is known to almost every parent and student everywhere and affects their attitudes toward school integration. It is a source of dismay to unprejudiced white parents who would like to promote school integration, but who also want their children to pass college entrance examinations. It is also a source of dismay to black parents who have high aspirations for their children and see them trapped in schools where the average academic performance is clearly below college entrance standards.

Table 5 attempts to provide some information about black and white reaction to the educational performance differential. Three explanations are explored:

(a) Cultural differences
(b) Home environment
(c) Innate abilit,

Table 4. RACIAL CONTENT OF THE CURRICULUM

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. In recent years there has been a trend toward teaching more about the history and accomplishments of black people in the United States. Do you	100	100	
Approve strongly	26	19	χ^2=8.3
Approve	53	60	d.f.=4
Neutral	20	12	p=.08
Disapprove or	1	6	not
Disapprove strongly of this trend?	0	3	significant
Number of cases	(70)	(226)	
B. Do you think that black children should be taught an African language in public school?	100		
Yes	73		
No	11		
Don't know	16		
Number of cases	(70)		
C. How important do you think it is that black children learn about African history and culture?	100		
Very important	41		
Important	36		
Neutral	13		
Unimportant, or	6		
Very unimportant?	4		
Number of cases	(70)		

Panel A of Table 5 explores the matter of cultural differences. A majority of black respondents believed that the standard tests and measures of academic ability and intelligence are written from the viewpoint of the white culture, and hence place the black student at an unfair disadvantage. Only a small percentage of white respondents accepted this explanation; they either disagreed outright (55 percent) or else did not know (28 percent).

The difference in home environment is explored in panel B. Here both black and white respondents agreed that black parents do not place as much emphasis upon education or encourage their children to study as hard as white parents do. White respondents were more prone to accept this explanation than black respondents, but even black respondents tended to agree or to be in doubt about this matter.

Table 5. EDUCATIONAL POTENTIAL OF BLACK CHILDREN

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. Tests used to measure ability are written so that they give an unfair advantage to white students.	100	100	
Agree	54	16	χ^2=44.6
Disagree	20	55	d.f.=2
Don't know	26	28	p=<.001
Number of cases	(70)	(226)	very significant
B. Most black parents do not encourage their children to study as hard as white parents do.	100	100	
Agree	45	60	χ^2=7.5
Disagree	44	26	d.f.=2
Don't know	11	14	p=.02
Number of cases	(69)	(225)	significant
C. The average black child has less inherited intelligence than the average white child to think out the correct answers to difficult problems.	100	100	
Agree	12	31	χ^2=16.0
Disagree	82	56	d.f.=2
Don't know	6	13	p=<0.001
Number of cases	(69)	(227)	very significant
D. Do black people have the same, greater or less inherited capacity for intelligence than whites do?	100	100	
Blacks and whites have the same capacity	82	57	χ^2=43.2
Blacks have greater capacity than whites	9	0	d.f.=3
Blacks have less capacity than whites . . . (ASK E)	6	38	p=<0.001
No answer	3	5	very significant
Number of cases	(69)	(229)	
E. Does this mean blacks should receive special help in education and getting jobs in order to overcome their handicaps or should they be expected to compete with everyone else?		100	
Special help		43	
Compete with everyone else		49	
Don't know		8	
Number of cases		(84)	

The matter of innate intelligence is taken up in panels C and D. The question was asked twice, in different ways, in separate sections of the interview in order to make sure this important item was measured properly. About 56–57 percent of whites stated clearly and unambivalently that they believed whites and blacks have the same innate capacities for learning and education. Not less than 31 percent and perhaps as many as 37 percent of whites definitely believe that the biological learning capacity of blacks is inferior to that of whites, and between 7 and 13 percent were uncertain. Thus, about one-third of whites believe that the learning capacity of black children is less than that of children their own race.

Black respondents overwhelmingly rejected the hypothesis of innate inferiority. Only 6–12 percent accepted it outright, and an additional 4–6 percent were uncertain. Taken as a whole, the data of Table 5 and the preceding tables imply that black parents account for the poorer academic performance of their children in terms of cultural differences, differences in motivation, inferior parental stimulation, and inferior schools. White respondents tend to concur with these explanations, but about one-third tend to believe that *in addition* there is the factor of innate inferiority.

As Surgeon points out in Chapter One, this theory of the innate learning inferiority of blacks seems to have experienced a recent resurgence, after having been steadily on the decline for a great many years. In a later section of this chapter we will attempt to determine the extent to which this viewpoint is, as has commonly been assumed, simply a way of rationalizing racial bigotry or whether it now is an empirical inference which otherwise racially liberal whites have made in the light of the continued poor performance of black students despite dramatic improvements in the quality of education they have been given–education which in many if not most cases is superior to that which the whites themselves received as children.

Racial aspects of higher education

The preceding discussion has considered only elementary and high school education. Table 6 presents data concerning the racial aspects of college and postgraduate university education. There are three hypotheses which one can test:

(a) Universities are prejudiced against blacks and try to keep them from enrolling.
(b) Universities are "color blind" and accept qualified students irrespective of race.
(c) Universities are practicing "reverse discrimination" and are using a double standard in admitting students and grading them–a "stiff" one for whites and a "lenient" one for blacks.

Panels A, B and C of Table 6 imply that almost none of the respondents believe the first hypothesis to be true. Black respondents overwhelmingly reject-

Table 6. RACIAL ASPECTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Questions	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. Do you think that most private universities (like Northwestern or the University of Chicago) require that black students have the same qualifications as whites, or do they admit black students who have lower qualifications than they require for whites?	100	100	
The same	60	36	χ^2=22.5
Lower (ASK B)	6	33	d.f.=2
Don't know, no opinion	34	31	p<0.001
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	very significant
B. Do you think this reduces the chances of white students entering these colleges?		100	
Very much		16	
Somewhat or		52	
Not at all?		32	
Number of cases		(73)	
C. Do you think that most professional schools (like medicine or law) require that black students have the same qualifications as whites, or do they admit black students who have lower qualifications than they require of whites?	100	100	
The same	80	53	χ^2=16.6
Lower (ASK D)	6	21	d.f.=2
Don't know, no opinion	14	26	p<0.001
Number of cases	(70)	(227)	very significant
D. Do you think this reduces the chances of white students entering these training programs?		100	
Very much		25	
Somewhat or		63	
Not at all?		12	
Number of cases		(49)	

Table 6. RACIAL ASPECTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION (cont.)

Questions	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
E. After graduation from college or professional school, who do you think has the better chance of getting a good job, a	100	100	
Black professional, or	3	16	χ^2=13.6
White professional?	67	46	d.f.=2
Both have same chance	30	38	p=<.003
Number of cases	(70)	(224)	very significant
F. Five years ago, did black professionals have more, the same, or less opportunities for jobs than whites?	100	100	
More	3	2	χ^2=11.9
The same	30	13	d.f.=2
Less	67	85	p=0.008
Number of cases	(70)	(224)	very significant

ed the third hypothesis and seemed to endorse the second. White respondents tended to concur, but a very substantial minority accepted the reverse discrimination hypothesis, believing that colleges and universities were being more lenient with black than with white students.

Postgraduate prospects for black graduates, in comparison with whites, are explored in panels E and F of Table 6. Very few respondents, even though they may have believed that blacks are getting "good breaks" in admission to higher education, were of the opinion that black graduates would have special consideration in getting good jobs. The preponderant opinion, among both black and white respondents, was that the white graduate will have the advantage or that there will be equal treatment. White respondents seemed to believe that postgraduate employment opportunities for blacks had increased dramatically within the past five years, whereas black respondents saw little change.

Busing of children

Black respondents were very ambivalent on the busing issue with respect to the busing of black children to white schools—41 percent were neutral, 33 per-

cent were opposed and 26 percent favored it (Table 7, panel A). With regard to the busing of white children to black schools they were about as ambivalent–40 percent were neutral, 33 percent were opposed and 26 percent favored it (panel B). Whites, by contrast, were vehemently opposed to busing both of black and of white children. Only 7–13 percent were in favor of it, either for white or black children. Eighty-four percent were opposed to the busing of white children to black schools, and 70 percent were opposed to the busing of black children to white schools. Only a tiny fraction of whites were neutral.

So strong was the feeling of whites that 48 percent expressed approval of the public protests made in Boston, Detroit and other cities against busing. However, an almost equal proportion disapproved of these protests (Table 7, panel C). The overall public opinion with respect to busing in Chicago, therefore, was distinctly negative among blacks and overwhelmingly negative among whites.

This contrasts sharply with most of the data which have been presented in this report. The preceding chapter has painted a reasonably pleasant picture of racial accommodation on the subjects of integration at the work place, on residential integration, and even on social interaction (except intermarriage). Table 8 summarizes the percentage of whites giving purportedly anti-black statements on a variety of topics discussed in this study, together with the proportion of black respondents who agree with the statements also. Opposition to busing stands near the head of the list, except for disapproval of violent racial confrontations. Busing engenders much more negative opinion than items on residential integration, school integration, and other activities to attain racial equality. Except for intermarriage, the items which head the list simultaneously involve problems of race relations and some other issues about which people have strong opinions (such as violence, government regulation of private enterprise, and freedom of speech). The analysis by Surgeon, in Chapter One, has shown that although the busing issue is distinctly race-related, it also contains other dimensions which cause many people to manifest a negative attitude concerning it, even though they have moderate or integrationist attitudes on other issues. Analysis of the busing problem is taken up in more detail in the next section.

Interrelationships among the components of the educational problem

With the racial aspects of Chicago's educational problems rather fully described in the preceding pages, it is useful to discover how closely these aspects are interrelated. This is done in the present section. Seven variables have been selected from the statistical tables, presented above, to represent the essence of the racial problems of education. These are listed in the stub of Tables 9 and 10. A measure of correlation (Somer's D, symmetric) of each variable with every other is reported. This is done for white respondents in Table 9

Table 7. BUSING OF CHILDREN TO ATTAIN RACIAL INTEGRATION IN SCHOOLS

Question	Black Respondents	White Respondents	Significance
A. How do you feel about the busing of black children into white neighborhoods to integrate schools? Are you	100	100	
Strongly in favor	9	3	χ^2=69.0
Moderately in favor	17	10	d.f.=4
Neutral	41	6	p<.001
Moderately opposed or	13	31	very
Strongly opposed?	20	49	significant
Number of cases	(70)	(226)	
B. How do you feel about the busing of white children into black neighborhoods to integrate schools? Are you	100	100	
Strongly in favor	10	2	χ^2=80.3
Moderately in favor	16	6	d.f.=4
Neutral	41	6	p<.001
Moderately opposed or	16	28	very
Strongly opposed?	17	58	significant
Number of cases	(69)	(229)	
C. Recently there have been public protests by whites in cities like Boston and Detroit to oppose busing of black students to schools in white areas. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the actions of these protests?		100	
Strongly agree		20	
Agree		28	
Neutral		8	
Disagree		27	
Strongly disagree		17	
Number of cases		(226)	

Table 8. RESPONSES INDICATIVE OF RACIAL TENSION

Percentage of respondents who:	Black Respondents	White Respondents
Oppose busing of black children	33	80
Oppose busing of white children	33	84
Disapprove of disrupting speeches	52	82
Disapprove of violent confrontation	80	98
Believe blacks are getting more or all they are entitled to	31	81
Oppose race quotas in hiring and promotion	7	71
Oppose racial intermarriage of their children	33	82
Oppose interracial dating of their children	21	81
Feel uncomfortable in public with blacks (whites)	11	18
Oppose orderly demonstrations by blacks	10	42
Disapprove of racial boycotts	20	47
Prefer children be in an all-white (black) school	7	39
Agree school located in black area should have only black teachers	2	21
Believe whites have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods	14	46
Believe best racial policy is to live apart	13	43
Prefer to work with all white (black) co-workers	0	6
Would dislike having a black (white) boss	13	10
Believe black children have less intelligence than white	12	31

Table 9. INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG SELECTED VARIABLES REPRESENTING THE RACIAL ASPECTS OF CHICAGO'S EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS: WHITE RESPONDENTS

Question	Table and Panel	A 1-C	B 2-C	C 3-B	D 4-A	E 5-C	F 6-C	G 7-A
A. How do you think the quality of education in black schools in Chicago compares with the quality of education in white schools?	1-C	--	0.23*	-0.19*	-0.23*	-0.03	-0.01	0.06
B. Do you think white schools should have only white teachers, or should there be some black and some white teachers?	2-C	0.23*	--	0.11	0.03	0.11	0.19*	0.15*
C. Do you think that white children get a better education if they go to all-white schools or to racially integrated schools?	3-B	-0.19*	0.11	--	-0.05	0.17*	0.21*	0.01
D. Tests used to measure ability are written so that they give an unfair advantage to white students	4-A	-0.23*	0.03	-0.05	--	0.02	0.13	0.09
E. The average black child has less inherited intelligence than the average white child to think out the correct answers to difficult problems	5-C	-0.03	0.11	0.17*	0.02	--	0.19*	0.15*
F. Do you think that most professional schools require that black students have the same qualifications as whites; or do they admit black students who have lower qualifications than they require of whites?	6-C	-0.01	0.19*	0.21*	0.13	0.19*	--	0.12
G. How do you feel about the busing of black children into white neighborhoods to integrate schools? Are you in favor or opposed?	7-A	0.06	0.15*	0.01	0.09	0.15*	0.12	--

and for black respondents in Table 10. The Somer's D correlation statistic reports the degree of association between two cross-classified variables (complete association yields a value of 1.0 and complete absence of association yields a value of 0.0). In general, values below 0.30 are regarded as "low" correlations and those above 0.70 as "high" correlations. Correlations between 0.30 and 0.70 are regarded as "moderately strong" correlations. In Tables 9 and 10, those correlations which are sufficiently high that they would not be expected to have occurred by chance are asterisked. These correlation statistics simply report the degree of association and state nothing concerning the nature of the relationship. In order to understand the nature of the relationship which underlies a correlation, it is necessary to study the statistical table from which the measure of correlation was computed.

A study of Table 9 (white respondents) will reveal two striking facts:

(a) Comparatively few of the correlations are statistically significant. For whites, of a total of twenty-one correlations, only nine are statistically

Table 10. INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG SELECTED VARIABLES REPRESENTING THE RACIAL ASPECTS OF CHICAGO'S EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS: BLACK RESPONDENTS

Question	Table and Panel	A 1-C	B 2-D	C 3-A	D 5-A	E 5-C	F 6-C	G 7-A
A. How do you think the quality of education in black schools in Chicago compares with the quality of education in white schools?	1-C	--	0.11	0.10	0.57*	0.14	0.10	0.10
B. Do you think black schools should have only black teachers, or should there be some black and some white teachers?	2-D	0.11	--	0.37*	0.02	0.14	-0.14	0.10
C. Do you think that black children get a better education if they go to all-black schools or to racially integrated schools?	3-A	0.10	0.37*	--	0.01	0.06	-0.08	0.36*
D. Tests used to measure ability are written so that they give an unfair advantage to white students	5-A	0.57*	0.00	.01	--	-0.02	-0.02	-0.11
E. The average black child has less inherited intelligence than the average white child to think out the correct answers to difficult problems	5-C	0.14	0.17	.06	-0.02	--	-0.11	-0.14
F. Do you think that most professional schools require that black students have the same qualifications as whites, or do they admit black students who have lower qualifications than they require of whites?	6-C	0.10	-0.13	-.08	-0.02	-0.11	--	0.03
G. How do you feel about the busing of black children into white neighborhoods to integrate schools? Are you in favor or opposed?	7-A	0.10	0.14	.36*	-0.11	-0.14	0.03	--

significant. The remaining twelve are so low that they could be presumed to be zero.

(b) Of the nine statistically significant correlations, all are extremely low. The highest has a value of 0.23, and the majority are 0.19 or below.

This stands in sharp contrast with what we would expect to be the case if there existed a set of public opinions consistently organized around racial prejudice or absence of racial prejudice. It could be hypothesized that there would be two dominant positions, a "pro-integration" and an "anti-integration" position, and that individuals would tend to fall into one or the other of these two categories.

A person strongly endorsing school integration might be expected to hold all of the following seven opinions in response to the seven items in Table 8:

1. In Chicago, black schools are of lower quality than white schools.
2. There should be faculty integration: white schools should have some black teachers.

3. White children get an equally good education when they attend racially integrated schools as when they attend all-white ones.
4. Tests used to measure ability give an unfair advantage to white students.
5. The average black child has the same inherited intellectual capacity as the average white child.
6. Professional schools have a single standard which they use to admit students, both black and white.
7. The busing of black children to white schools to attain racial integration should be carried out.

A person strongly opposed to school integration might be expected to hold all of the following seven opinions in response to the seven items in Table 8:

1. In Chicago, black schools are of the same quality as white schools.
2. There should be no faculty integration.
3. White children get a better education if they attend an all-white school.
4. Tests used to measure ability do not give an unfair advantage to white students.
5. The average black child has less inherited intellectual capacity than the average white child.
6. Professional schools admit black students who have lower qualifications than they require for whites.
7. The busing of black children to white schools to attain racial integration should be opposed.

In theory, a strong "pro-integrationist" would endorse all of the statements in the first list and reject all those in the second list. Conversely, a strong "anti-integrationist" would reject all of the statements in the first list and endorse all those in the second. This would cause a high degree of intercorrelation among the items, with each being highly and significantly correlated with every other. As Tables 9 and 10 teach us, this simply is not the case. The best that can be said is that there is an extremely weak tendency for respondents to fall into a pro-integration or anti-integration position, *but so few people are consistent in their responses that the correlations are low.* (Even where the correlations are so low as to be not statistically significant, they tend to be "in the right direction" of the pro-integration versus anti-integrationist dichotomy.) A majority of respondents tended to take middle-of-the-road positions or to be pro-integrationist on some items and anti-integrationist on others. As a result, there are very few cases of respondents with a "pure" pro-integration or a "pure" anti-integration position.

In order to understand the importance of the discovery that the racial components of education have very low correlations with each other, let us examine two examples.

Example 1. *Faculty integration versus student integration* (Table 11). In theory, one would expect a pro-integrationist to endorse both school integration and faculty integration, and an anti-integrationist to reject both. This

Table 11. EXAMPLE OF A NON–SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TWO VARIABLES WHICH MIGHT BE EXPECTED TO HAVE A HIGHER (SIGNIFICANT) CORRELATION

Do you think that white children get a better education if they go to an all-white school or to racially integrated schools?	Total	Do you think white schools should have only white teachers, or should there be some black and some white teachers?		Significance
		Pro-integration: Some of each	Anti-integration: White teachers only	
Total	100	100	100	χ^2=2.4 d.f.=1 p=0.12 not significant
Anti-integration: All-white schools or has no opinion or does not know	58	54	65	
Pro-integration: Integrated schools or makes no difference	42	46	35	Somer's D (correlation)=0.11

would lead to an extremely high (almost tautological) correlation between the two items. Table 11 presents the actual data for white respondents. As expected, the percentage of those who believe in student integration is higher among those who also believe in teacher integration than among those who do not believe in teacher integration. But the differences are so small (such a large number of persons gave a pro-integrationist response to one of the questions and an anti-integrationist response to the other) that the differences are not statistically significant and the correlation is nearly zero. In other words, people tended to favor student integration and teacher integration as if they were two separate, wholly unrelated issues.

Example 2. *Intelligence and busing* (Table 12). In theory, one would expect those who believe that black children have inferior intelligence in comparison with white children to oppose busing, on the grounds that the quality of classroom performance would be less stimulating and the learning environment impaired. In contrast, those who believe that black and white children have the same potential for intelligence should be expected to be more willing to endorse busing. This would lead to a high correlation between the two items. Table 12 presents the actual data for white respondents. The statistics are in the direction predicted by the theory and are statistically significant. But again, the differences are so small that the correlation is extremely low. Among those who agreed that white and black children have the same intellectual potential, more than three-fourths nevertheless persisted in opposing busing or failed to endorse it outright (compared to 88 percent among those who believed blacks to have inferior intellectual capacities). Again, people tended to favor or oppose busing almost independently of the issue of the learning capacities of black children.

A detailed study has been made of all of the correlations of Table 9, with the same finding: *the racial aspects of the educational problems of Chicago appear to be more a series of quasi-independent issues than a package of internally consistent opinions which can be attributed to a person with a prejudice either for or against school integration.*

It is believed that the above findings are a good approximation of the attitude climate among white citizens with respect to the racial aspects of school problems in Chicago. Merely to attribute them to careless interviewing would be inappropriate in view of the very strong and consistent findings which were obtained in other sections of the study (such as those pertaining to racial intermarriage, etc.).

Correlation among the attitudes of black respondents. When Table 10 is subjected to the same intensive analysis described above for whites, somewhat similar results emerge: there are only a few significant correlations in the entire twenty-one. However, these do tend to be more consistently organ-

Table 12. EXAMPLE OF A SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TWO VARIABLES WHICH MIGHT BE EXPECTED TO HAVE A HIGH CORRELATION

How do you feel about the busing of black children into white neighborhoods to integrate schools?	Total	The average black child has less inherited intelligence than the average white child.		Significance
		Pro-integration: Disagrees	Anti-integration: Agrees	
Total	100	100	100	χ^2=4.2 d.f.=1 p=0.04 significant
Anti-integration: Opposed to busing	81	76	88	
Pro-integration: Favors busing	19	24	12	Somer's D (correlation)=0.15

ized around pro-integrationist versus anti-integrationist sentiment than those of white respondents. For blacks, however, two of the seven variables are so completely rejected that no correlations are significant: the question concerning inherited intelligence and the one concerning admission practices of professional schools.

Race prejudice as a correlate of school integration

A final step in this analysis is to study the relationship between racial aspects of school problems and race prejudice as it is expressed in other aspects of race relations. This is done for white respondents in Table 13. This table presents correlations between a set of variables pertaining to school problems (each school problem represented by a row of data) and a second set of variables pertaining to non-school aspects of race relations (each item represented by a column of data).

There is a definite element of general race prejudice in the school problems. This prejudice is most closely linked to racial assimilation, because the columns that pertain to residential integration, socializing with blacks, interracial dating and interracial marriage have the highest and most consistent correlation with the items concerning schools. Variables which refer primarily to work or to equal political or economic rights have correlations that tend to be too low to be significant.

None of the correlations in Table 13 are high, even those that are statistically significant. This suggests that each of the schooling variables is a multifaceted problem of which race is only one aspect. A glance across the first row of statistics in this table will show that the general problem of school integration is correlated with almost none of the prejudice variables; it is only when specific issues are raised (rows B through I) that significant correlations emerge. Thus, we find that *opposition to racial assimilation is a strong component in the schooling problems discussed in this report, but that race prejudice alone provides an incomplete explanation.* While it is true that those who are determined that the two races should remain segregated tend to respond in an anti-integration manner, as predicted, a great many persons who appear to be less prejudiced also respond in a manner which seems to reflect race prejudice but which upon closer examination reflects other considerations as well.

A closer look at busing

The issue of busing black children into white schools in order to attain racial integration is the most controversial of the school issues involving race. Table 14 reports the results of detailed cross-classification of this variable against a variety of other variables. Its relationship both to other school problems and to general race prejudice is explored.

1. Panel A of Table 14 reveals that there is no significant relationship between the general position which a white Chicagoan took with respect to

Table 13. CORRELATIONS (SOMER'S D, SYMMETRIC) BETWEEN VARIABLES REPRESENTING EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS AND THOSE MEASURING RACE PREJUDICE OR RACE RELATIONS: WHITE RESPONDENTS

VARIABLES PERTAINING TO SCHOOL PROBLEMS → / VARIABLES PERTAINING TO RACE PREJUDICE AND RACE RELATIONS ↓	I. If a black and a white [illegible] applied for a job, who would have a better chance of getting hired?	II. Do you believe that white people have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods if they want to?	III. Do you approve of the efforts of civil rights marches and demonstrations by blacks to get more equal rights?	IV. Do you approve of the efforts of integrating speeches of those who do not support black rights?	V. Resistance [illegible] to black neighborhoods should vary with black [illegible]	VI. Do you think desegregation and busing has been the right goal for black rights people?	VII. How do you feel about being used in the company of a black person?	VIII. Would you approve or disapprove of your child dating a black person?	IX. Would you approve or oppose the marriage of your child to a black person?
A. What kind of school would you prefer your children [illegible] to attend?	-0.02	0.10	-0.06	-0.04	0.02	-0.24•	0.02	-0.31	0.09
B. Do you think white schools should have only white teachers or should there be some of each race?	-0.05	+0.20•	0.06	0.03	-0.12	-0.01	0.22•	0.13•	-0.15•
C. Do you think black schools should have only black teachers or should there be some of each race?	+0.04	-0.13•	0.07	0.05	-0.11	0.03	0.17•	0.16•	-0.16
D. Do you think that black children generally get a better education if they go to an integrated school?	-0.01	+0.18•	0.09	0.08	0.00	-0.14	0.19•	0.14•	0.13•
E. Do you think that white children get a better education if they go to all-white schools?	-0.00	+0.20•	0.11	0.08	-0.09	0.19	0.20•	0.13•	-0.23•
F. Does the average black child have less educational intelligence than the average white child?	-0.03	+0.19•	0.02•	0.09	-0.15•	0.06	0.11•	0.18•	-0.13•
G. Do black people have some ability or less innate capacity for intellectual than do whites?	-0.02	+0.17•	0.29•	-0.05	-0.09	0.02	0.27•	0.21•	-0.21•
H. Do you favor or oppose the busing of black children into white neighborhoods to integrate [illegible] schools?	-0.12	+0.30•	0.01	0.13•	-0.17•	0.05	0.11•	0.20•	-0.20•
I. Do you approve or disapprove of public protests against school integration by whites?	-0.11	0.30•	-0.30•	-0.11•	0.13•	-0.01	0.28•	0.25•	0.29•

Table 14. CROSS-TABULATION OF OTHER VARIABLES WITH ATTITUDE TOWARD BUSING OF BLACK CHILDREN TO WHITE SCHOOLS: WHITE RESPONDENTS

Question	Total %	Approves busing	Neutral	Opposes busing	Significance
A. What kind of a school would you prefer your children to attend?	100	8	5	87	N = 119
Racially integrated school	100	6	9	91	$\chi^2 = 3.6$ df = 2
Segregated or no preference	100	9	3	88	p = 0.16 not sig.
B. Do you think that black children generally get a better education if they go to integrated schools?	100	13	6	81	N = 226
Yes	100	17	6	77	$\chi^2 = 5.6$ df = 2
No, or don't know	100	8	7	86	p = 0.06 quasi-sig.
C. Do you think that white children get a better education if they go to an all-white school?	100	13	6	81	N = 227
Yes	100	12	7	81	$\chi^2 = 0.7$ df = 2
No, or don't know	100	15	5	80	p = 0.69 not sig.
D. Do you think that black schools should have only black teachers, or should there be some of each race?	100	13	6	81	N = 221
Some of each race	100	16	7	77	$\chi^2 = 2.9$ df = 2
Only black, no opinion, don't know	100	9	5	86	p = 0.23 not sig.
E. If a black and a white man applied for a job, who would have a better chance of getting hired?	100	17	4	79	N = 108
The black man	100	11	0	89	$\chi^2 = 2.8$ df = 4
The white man	100	17	4	79	p = 0.59
Both would have equal chance	100	20	5	75	not sig.
F. Do you approve or disapprove of orderly marches and demonstrations by blacks to get more equal rights?	100	13	6	81	N = 227
Approve	100	16	5	79	$\chi^2 = 4.1$ df = 2
Disapprove, neutral, don't know	100	11	7	82	p = 0.13 not sig.

Table 14. CROSS-TABULATION OF OTHER VARIABLES WITH ATTITUDE TOWARD BUSING OF BLACK CHILDREN TO WHITE SCHOOLS: WHITE RESPONDENTS (cont.)

Question	Total %	Approves busing	Neutral	Opposes busing	Significance
G. White people have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods.	100	13	6	81	N = 226
Agree	100	3	4	92	χ^2 = 23.4 df = 2 p = .0001 very sig.
Disagree or neutral	100	24	8	68	
H. How do you feel about being seen in the company of a black person?	100	13	6	81	N = 226
Comfortable	100	18	5	77	χ^2 = 6.8 df = 2 p = 0.03 sig.
Uncomfortable, depends, neutral	100	6	8	86	
I. Would you approve or disapprove of your child dating a black person?	100	13	6	81	N = 227
Approve or neutral	100	36	7	57	χ^2 = 23 df = 2 p = .9001 very sig.
Disapprove	100	8	6	86	
J. Would you approve or oppose the marriage of your child to a black person?	100	13	6	81	N = 217
Try to prevent	100	6	8	86	χ^2 = 20.9 df = 4 p = .0003 very sig.
Would advise against	100	11	3	85	
Approve	100	36	9	55	

school integration and the stand he took on busing. Those who favored school integration were as opposed to busing as those who favored school segregation. Even those who believed that black children and white children would get a better total education if they attended integrated schools nevertheless opposed busing just as firmly as those who believed that schooling was adversely affected by school integration. More than three-fourths of those who thought that there should be integration of faculty, both in black and white schools, opposed busing. Thus panels A through D illustrate, in a more detailed way, Surgeon's conclusion in Chapter One that busing tends to be a unique factor in the race relations problem.

2. There is a moderately strong association between every aspect of race prejudice and busing. Those who believe in residential segregation, who feel

uncomfortable in the presence of black people in social situations, or who disapprove of interracial dating and interracial marriage also are more inclined to disapprove of busing than those who take a more integrationist stance. *But in every case, a majority of whites who took an integrationist stance on socialization persisted in opposing busing. Thus, 57 percent of those who would permit their child to date a black person and 55 percent of those who would permit their child to marry a black person nevertheless opposed busing.* This provides additional evidence that the issue of busing involves factors which are not related to race.

Perhaps one of the reasons the busing problem is such a complicated one is that the single most visible anti-busing group is a minority (perhaps less than a third of the white population) which is determined to keep the races apart residentially and socially, even though they may be integrated politically and economically. Yet in addition to this group, there is an equally large number of white people who apparently oppose busing on other grounds. It is likely that these "other grounds" underlie the resistance to busing which black respondents expressed. Much more needs to be determined about these other considerations. Unfortunately, because the present study was highly focused on race relations rather than on the busing issue itself, no data were obtained concerning this aspect of the problem.

Conclusion

The black citizens of Chicago firmly believe that they have an inferior school system in comparison to that of whites, and the white citizens concur. In addition, there is a high degree of school segregation. Black respondents do not accept the theory that their children have inferior innate ability to learn, and place the blame on the inferior schools, the testing methods, and even upon themselves as parents for not sufficiently encouraging their children. They believe that their children would get a better education if they attended integrated schools, and that this would not lessen the quality of education for white students. They therefore favor school integration. They overwhelmingly want a greater component of black history and culture included in the school curriculum. More of them are reluctant to have black children bused in order to attain school integration than favor it, with a large ambivalent group. They oppose separatist concessions by whites such as having only black teachers in black schools; they want instead racial integration of the faculties of all schools. They believe that there now is almost no discrimination in the admission of black students to major colleges and universities and that there is very little "reverse discrimination" in favor of blacks. The above opinions are majority views; a comparatively small minority of blacks maintain a militant separatist attitude toward school integration.

A majority of white respondents favor school integration in principle, although a sizable minority oppose it. A majority favor racial integration of the

faculties of all schools–both black and white. They approve of adding more black culture and history to the curriculum. They do not accept the belief that black children have inferior learning ability but regard their potential as equal to that of whites. They also believe there is no discrimination against blacks in gaining entrance to universities, but that the same admission principles are applied to both races. However, a very large majority (80 percent) of whites are against busing of children to attain school integration. Although the above opinions are dominant, there is a substantial minority of highly prejudiced whites which opposes specific moves to bring about school integration because of opposition to socialization between the races.

A major finding of this analysis is that the racial problems of schools have very low correlations with the conventional measures of race prejudice. Although each race has a minority faction which is militantly anti-integration and which also takes an anti-integration attitude toward school problems, the majority of citizens express opinions on the school issues which reveal either that they are poorly informed or that they are basing their judgments on other considerations in addition to race. There is an urgent need to learn more about the content and rationale of these other considerations. This conclusion is supported by the finding that there is a very low correlation among the positions taken on the various components of the school issue. Almost every recent study of race relations concludes with the rediscovery that greater residential integration would greatly ameliorate the problems of school integration. This study is no exception. It has shown, however, that it is the same minority of persons who oppose residential integration who are most strongly opposed to specific acts that would bring about school integration. Progress in race relations with respect to schools will depend in large part upon progress in developing pro-assimilation attitudes, so that black families will be accepted in communities in accordance with their economic and other status qualifications. Meanwhile, urgent study is needed of the non-racial aspects of the schooling problems; it is clearly incorrect to deal with busing and the other school problems solely as if they were questions of race relations.